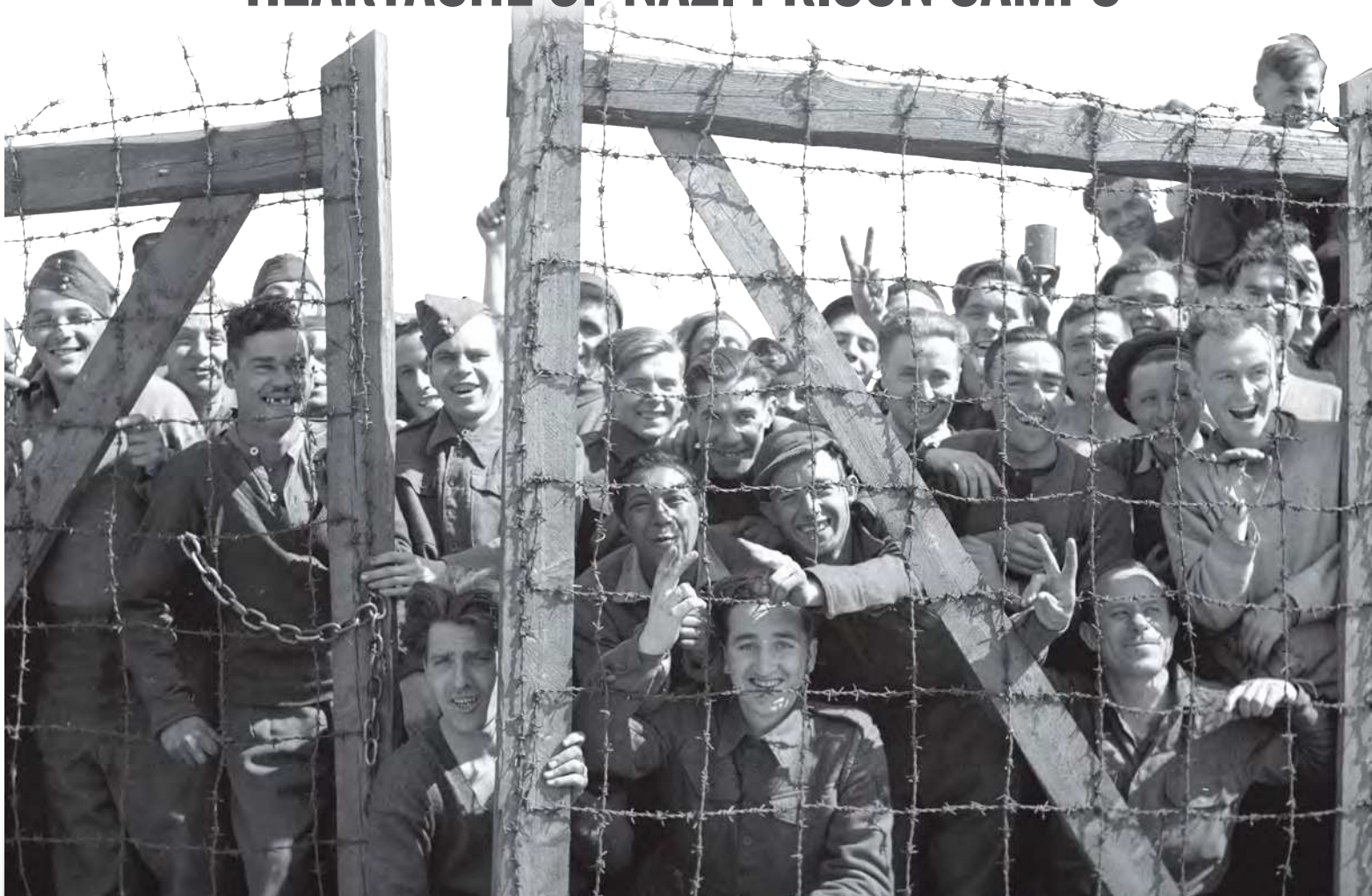
CANADA'S HISTORY

SPECIAL THE BEAVER RETURNS!

EST. 1920 AS THE BEAVER

BEHIND THE WIRE

HOW POWS SURVIVED THE HARDSHIPS AND HEARTACHE OF NAZI PRISON CAMPS



PLUS

TREATIES ONE & TWO: 150 YEARS LATER

THE INDIGENOUS GROUP OF SEVEN

GLOBE-TROTTING HARPIST

$7.99
10
PM40063001
DISPLAY UNTIL NOV 29 2021
7 25274 70431 6

THANK YOU TO THE 2021 EDITOR'S CIRCLE

The Editor's Circle was established in 2020 to celebrate the 100th anniversary of *Canada's History* / *The Beaver* magazine. Now *The Beaver* returns in a special print supplement within the pages of *Canada's History* magazine.

An annual giving program, the Editor's Circle supports *Canada's History*'s second century of storytelling. Patrons and Supporters, whose gifts range from $500 to $10,000+, are recognized here. Integral to our editorial success, donors' contributions empower us to share more diverse stories of Canada's past.

We are grateful for the loyalty and generosity of all the subscribers and donors whose support helps to keep history alive — and helps us put *The Beaver* back into the pages of *Canada's History*.

PATRONS $5,000+

Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation
is a founding patron and the largest private donor to Canada's National History Society.

Bill Caulfeild-Browne

Dorothy Hollingsworth
in memory of her husband William Nobleman

The Jackman Foundation

Tom Kierans & Mary Janigan

Bruce MacLellan & Karen Girling

The Molson Foundation

The Northpine Foundation

Power Corporation of Canada

James Richardson & Sons, Limited
and Affiliated Companies

H. Sanford & Deborah Riley

TD Bank Group

The Wilson Foundation

C. J. Winn

The Winnipeg Foundation

SUPPORTERS $500 – $4,999

E. James Arnett

James C. Baillie

Marilyn and Charles Baillie
Family Foundation

Karen & Bill Barnett

J. Douglas Barrington

Paul Beeston

John Blachford

Janet E. Bush

Wes & Pat Campbell

Danielle Chartier & Clay Vandel

Helen Edwards

Ross Farewell

David B. Flemming

Paul Gibbons

Charlotte Gray & George Anderson

Scott Hand

Allister Hestler

Paul Jones

Donald Jordan

John S. Keenlyside

Edward & Stella Kennedy

Audrey Kenny

Greg Latremoille

Gary Lukassen

Joe Martin

Dr. Cheryl Susan McWatters

Murray Noble

Patricia & Gerald O'Brian

Richard W. Pound

Michael & Barbara Rea

Mark C. Reid

Robert F. Richards

Shelagh Roberts in honour of
Brea & Miles Duncan

Diane Stampfler

Rodney Swarek

Stephen Thomas

Janet Walker

Melony Ward & Kevin Weiss

Winnipeg Building &
Decorating, Ltd

If you are interested in learning more about the Editor's Circle, please contact Olya Vrublevsky at
1-844-852-7377 ext 217 or ovrublevsky@canadashistory.ca

“Because the welfare of Winnipeg charities relies on the generosity and leadership of our citizens.”

- Elizabeth Alloway, The Winnipeg Foundation’s first Legacy Circle member

Join us as we celebrate **100** years as your community foundation.
For Good. Forever.

Visit wpgfdn.org/100 for more on our centennial celebrations.

wpgfdn.org/100 | @wpgfdn

THE WINNIPEG FOUNDATION 100

Canada’s first community foundation

For Good. Forever.

CANADA'S HISTORY
CANADASHISTORY.CA

President & CEO Janet Walker

Editor-In-Chief, Director of Content & Communications
Mark Collin Reid

Art Director
James Gillespie

Senior Editor
Kate Jaimet

Associate Editor
Phil Koch

Contributing Editors
Christopher Moore
Nelle Oosterom
Nancy Payne

Publisher, Director of Business Enterprise
Melony Ward

Advertising Inquiries
ads@CanadasHistory.ca

Online Manager
Tanja Hütter

Graphic Designer
Andrew Workman

Designer
Matthew Schellenberg

Nobleman Scholar
Julia Richards

Director of Finance & Administration
Patricia Gerow

Circulation & Marketing Manager
Danielle Chartier

Executive Assistant
Kendra Rein

Manager of Fund Development
Olya Vrublevsky

Director of Programs
Joanna Dawson

Acting Director of Programs
Brooke Campbell

Education & Outreach Coordinator
Jean-Philippe Proulx

Program Coordinator
Kylie Nicolajsen

Circulation Consultants
Scott Bullock, Circ3 Solutions
P.J. Brown, Etatech Consulting

Canada's History magazine was founded by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1920 as *The Beaver: A Journal of Progress*. The HBC's commitment to the History Society and its programs continues today through the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Canada's History Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Sasha Mullally, *Chair*

Bill Caulfeild-Browne
Tim Cook
Magda Fahrni
Edward Kennedy
Michèle Leduc
Bruce MacLellan
Natasha Pashak
Carla Peck
Michael Rea, *Past Chair*
Stephen Thomas

Founding Publisher
Rolph Huband
1929–2016

President Emeritus
Joe Martin

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

E. James Arnett
A. Charles Baillie
J. Douglas Barrington
W. John Bennett
Mark S. Bonham
Elsa Franklin
Richard Frost
Charlotte Gray
John Honderich
Gillian Manning
Ry Moran
Don Newman
Richard W. Pound
H. Sanford Riley
Jane Urquhart
Greg Wong

SUBSCRIPTION SERVICES
Canada, $32.95 (GST included)
Add $10 a year for U.S. orders
Add $18 for foreign orders

Phone: 1.888.816.0997
memberservices@CanadasHistory.ca
CanadasHistory.ca/subscribe
PO Box 699
Alliston, ON L9R 1V9

ISSN 1920-9894

ADVERTISING INQUIRIES
ads@CanadasHistory.ca

EDITORIAL ADDRESS
Bryce Hall Main Floor
515 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9
Phone: 1.888.816.0997
Fax: 204.988.9309
info@CanadasHistory.ca

© 2021 Canada's History Society.
All rights reserved.

GST # 13868 1408 RT 0001

PRIVACY PREFERENCE
Occasionally, we provide our subscriber list to external organizations that have products or services of interest to our readers. If you do not wish to receive such communications, please contact Member Services memberservices@CanadasHistory.ca

Postmaster - Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Canada's History PO Box 699 Alliston, ON L9R 1V9

Postage paid in Winnipeg.
Publications Mail Agreement No. 40063001

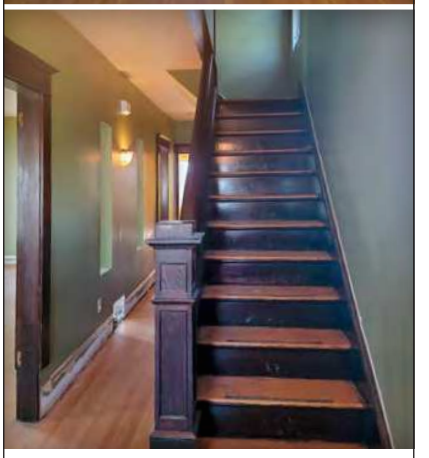
Printed in Canada.

Funded by the Government of Canada
Financé par le gouvernement du Canada
Canada

MIX
Paper from responsible sources
FSC® C011825

On the cover: Canadians were among forty thousand POWs interned at Stalag XI-B at Fallingbostel, Germany, the first prisoner of war camp liberated by the Allies on April 16, 1945.

COVER IMAGE: IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUMS/BU 3661



ORIGINAL 1917
EATON'S CATALOGUE HOUSE FOR SALE
READY TO MOVE!

A walk back in time. This 1917–built Eaton's house has original mouldings, lights, floors, solid wood staircases, stained glass windows, and doors with knobs. Drywall, plumbing, and electrical are updated. Cedar exterior. Wrap-around deck, two verandas, and three levels of living space.

Eaton's houses were designed to be elegant and very practical, with well-thought-out floor plans, ornate detailing, and lots of natural light. This beautiful historic house would make a fantastic family dwelling or retirement home for someone who sees the value to fully restore and complete it. Currently located in Saskatchewan, the house has steel beams installed, and is ready to be moved at the buyer's expense.

For more info, contact Shelly at (306) 628-7706.

CONTENTS

FEATURES

20 Barbed Wire Ballads

Music and poetry helped two Canadian soldiers endure captivity, hunger, and forced labour in a Second World War German POW camp. *by Don Cummer*

26 Pluck & Prowess

Harp virtuoso Winifred Bambrick defied her age and travelled the world. *by Mary E. Hughes*

In The Beaver

38 Agowigiiwinan Bezhig Minawaa Niizhin

Commemorating the 150th anniversary of Treaties One and Two gives us all an opportunity to honour our ancestors' sacred promises to live in peace and to share the bounty of the land. *by Wabi Benais Mistatim Equay (Cynthia Bird)*

48 Headwaters of Their Own Stream

Battling racism, discrimination, and exclusion, seven artists formed the Professional Native Indian Artists Inc. to fight for professional respect and political self-determination. *by Michelle LaVallee*

20

26

38

CONTRIBUTORS

Mary E. Hughes, who wrote "Pluck & Prowess," was prompted to look into the life of Winifred Bambrick because of a family connection to the surname. Hughes is the author of two volumes of non-fiction and of the three novels comprising the Violet trilogy. She is grateful to Professor Emeritus William H. New of the University of British Columbia for access to his research and early work on Bambrick.

Michelle LaVallee, Anishinaabe (Ojibway) – Chippewas of Nawash Unceded First Nation, wrote "Headwaters of Their Own Stream." She is the director of the Indigenous Art Centre at Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada and was previously curator at the MacKenzie Art Gallery in Regina. She organized the nationally touring exhibition *7: Professional Native Indian Artists Inc.* and edited and contributed to the award-winning book contextualizing the group's influential role in Canadian art history.

Don Cummer wrote "Barbed Wire Ballads." Cummer grew up in Calgary and currently divides his time between Ottawa and Dublin, where he can sometimes be found strumming a guitar in his neighbourhood pub. A professional speech writer for many years, he is the author of a series of novels, published by Scholastic Canada, about the adventures of two boys – a Canadian and an American – during the War of 1812.

BOTTOM, SECOND PHOTO FROM LEFT: ROSALIE FAVELL

DEPARTMENTS

10 **The Packet** Debatable history. Myth stakes. Flight facts. Wise words.

12 **Currents** Historic boathouse restoration making waves in Ottawa. A young Oscar Peterson. Photographing abandoned buildings on the prairies. A trapper's tale.

19 **Trading Post** A pair of smoked-moosehide moccasins is trimmed with beaver fur.

32 **Your story** A birthday calendar from 1941 reveals the personal side of a prairie insurance magnate.

59 **Destinations** His Irish birthplace honours Thomas D'Arcy McGee. At the museums: Modern women artists, Italo-Montrealers.

64 **Books** Excerpt from *I Can Only Paint*. Reviews: Seasoned raconteur. Witnessing conflict. More books: women during war, gold rush stagecoach, legacies of eugenics, soldiers in Newfoundland, youth squads.

73 **History Matters** Newly installed Governor General of Canada an inspiration to all Canadians.

74 **Album** A curling team comprised of RCAF veterans poses at a rink in Quebec City.

Coming up in Canada's History

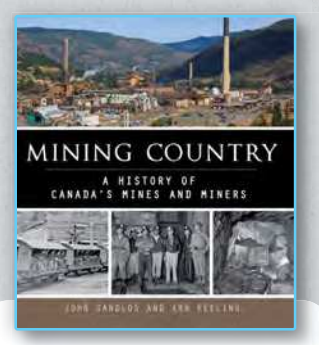
Car Nation

Recalling how the automobile transformed Canada and Canadians.

Susan Riley, B.A. (Hons), B.J., LL.B., wrote "Life of Riley." She is a journalist who has written for newspapers in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, and Vancouver and produced for CBC Television. After completing a law degree, she performed dispute resolution for the federal Department of Justice. She has written two non-fiction books: *We Watch the Waves*, an exploration of her father's unexplained suicide, and *Larry's Last Resort*, an examination of a West Vancouver murder.

Wabi Benais Mistatim Equay (Cynthia Bird) is the author of "Agowigiiwinan Bezhig Minawaa Niizhin." She is Cree from the Peguis First Nation in Manitoba, in Treaty One Territory, with ties to her adopted family in Red Sucker Lake, Manitoba. She is an educator and a consultant with almost forty years of experience working in a variety of sectors. She continues to be involved in initiatives that promote First Nations and Indigenous perspectives about our shared history and current realities.

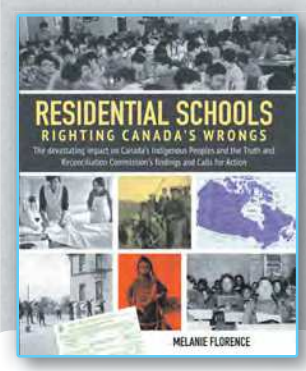
NEW FOR
FALL 2021



An extensively illustrated history of mining in Canada — the towns, the workers and the mines.

The first book to tell the story of centuries of mining in Canada, offering new perspectives on the environmental impact, workers' health and safety and Indigenous rights in Canada.

John Sandlos & Arn Keeling
$29.95, paperback

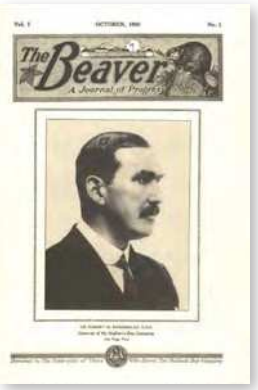


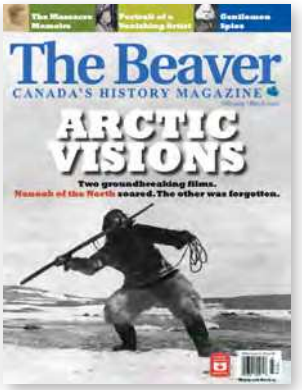
An illustrated history of Canada's residential school system and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's research and findings, including the 94 Calls to Action. The book describes the role of churches and government officials in establishing and running residential schools. It includes personal accounts from Survivors and the text of the federal government's official apology.

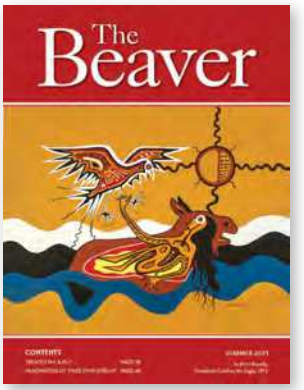
Melanie Florence
$29.95, paperback

IN BOOKSTORES NOW!

LORIMER ONTARIO CREATES Made possible with the support of Ontario Creates.







From left, the first issue of *The Beaver*, published in October 1920, the last issue, published in February 2010, and the new special supplement of *The Beaver*, which debuts in this issue.

The Beaver returns

It's hard to believe that a decade has passed since *The Beaver* magazine was renamed *Canada's History*. It was a difficult decision to make, driven more by the need to find a "brand domain name" that worked both in print and online than by any innate feelings of ill will toward *Castor canadensis*.

We are grateful that so many of you have supported us since the name change. It's also true that some readers were disappointed by the new moniker — and they let us know it. As one subscriber said: "stop your shilly-shallowing and return the name to *The Beaver*!"

The change to a new moniker received both national and international recognition. Interview requests arrived from as far away as Australia. Perhaps the apex (or was it the nadir?) moment was when the name change made the rounds on late-night American talk shows. I still have a screenshot of Stephen Colbert (the current host of the *Late Show with Stephen Colbert*) cracking jokes about moose and maple syrup while showing his audience the cover of *The Beaver*.

Much has changed since 2010, both at *Canada's History* and in the wider history world. We continue to seek diverse stories while inviting readers to explore and to debate understandings of the past. *Canada's History* is a space where we can have important, challenging, and sometimes difficult conversations.

With this in mind, I'm happy to announce that, after a decade's hiatus, *The Beaver* is back as a special annual supplement within *Canada's History*.

The reimagined *Beaver* will showcase new stories and storytellers with a special focus on Indigenous perspectives. Like its previous incarnation, the new *Beaver* will explore the fur-trading era and the history of Rupert's Land while also covering diverse topics such as arts and culture, geography, and archaeology. The design of the supplement was also inspired by the past, specifically the 1940s–1950s era of *The Beaver*.

In this inaugural edition, we feature a pair of stories from Indigenous writers: Wabi Benais Mistatim Equay (Cynthia Bird) writes about the 150th anniversaries of Treaties One and Two, while Michelle LaVallee explores the artistic legacy of the groundbreaking Professional Native Indian Artists Inc.

Elsewhere in *Canada's History*, we present the story of Canada's most famous harpist and explore how the arts helped POWs survive the hardships of Nazi prison camps.

With your continued support, I'm sure *The Beaver* has a bright future within *Canada's History* magazine. Thank you for sticking with us. It's an exciting time for *Canada's History*.

Mark Reid

ALL ABOARD WITH CANADA'S HISTORY AND RAIL TRAVEL TOURS

NO RISK BOOKINGS! JUST $100 PER PERSON DEPOSITS THAT WILL BE REFUNDED IF YOUR TOUR IS CANCELLED DUE TO COVID-19

Heritage of Halifax & the 110th Anniversary of the loss of the RMS Titanic

Book early to receive a copy of *The Ocean Limited*, the story of Canada's oldest named train

Wednesday April 13 to Monday April 18, 2022

Roundtrip from Toronto or Ottawa, experience scenic rail journeys through Canada's Atlantic region on the 110th anniversary of the loss of the *Titanic* and explore its links to Halifax. This 6-day, 5-night tour features roundtrip rail trips from Montreal/Halifax and sleeping car accommodations on VIA Rail's *The Ocean*, including meals in the diner car and views from the dome car. Enjoy a 3-night stay in Halifax visiting attractions such as the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, Halifax Citadel, Naval Museum of Halifax, talks on-site of both the Halifax Explosion and Fairview Lawn Cemetery with author Blair Beed, St Patrick's Church, plus other experiences. Package also includes Pier 21 visit, the Alexander Keith Heritage brewery tour, some seafood meals, transfers, tour director, tour info kit and more.

Train Cabin(s) - $2,595.00 (Per Person Double Occupancy)
Single supplement add $600.00. FINAL PAYMENT DEADLINE FEBRUARY 24, 2022

Amazing Belugas & Heritage of Churchill

Tuesday August 2 to Monday August 8, 2022

Early bookings at last year's rate – call today!

Travel to the shores of Hudson Bay to experience Manitoba's wildlife and heritage. This 7-day, 6-night roundtrip tour from Winnipeg to Churchill features train travel in sleeping car accommodations, with on-board meals prepared by VIA Rail's chefs and served in the comfortable dining car, whose expansive windows provide views of the passing prairies, Canadian Shield, Taiga and Arctic landscapes. Enjoy a 3-day, 2-night hotel stay in Churchill featuring a boat tour to see the belugas of the Churchill River and the historic HBC Fort Prince of Wales. The package also includes: station to hotel transfers; a tour of the town including the Cape Merry National Historic Site; and a guided half-day historical and ecological tour along the shoreline of Hudson Bay. Additional visits to heritage attractions include the Itsanitaq Museum, Parks Canada Northern Manitoba Interpretive Centre (located in the restored Churchill train station), the Winnipeg Railway Museum, and exclusive heritage presentations. All on-board meals and most other meals included.

Train Section - $3,695.00 - Train Cabin - $4,295.00 (Per Person Double Occupancy)
Single supplement $800.00. FINAL PAYMENT DEADLINE JUNE 15, 2022

Across Canada & Mountains in the Fall

NEW TOUR

Featuring two of the most scenic rail journeys in Canada

Wednesday September 28 to Tuesday October 11, 2022

Roundtrip from Toronto to Northern BC's Pacific Coast, this comprehensive tour features two of VIA Rail's most iconic trains! This 14-day,13-night package allows you to experience the heritage, size and scenery of the country including the Canadian Shield, Prairies, Rocky and Coastal Mountains. Travel on the *Canadian* to enjoy the domed observation areas, lounges and meals, prepared by VIA's chefs, in the dining car, plus sleeping car accommodations. Then travel the *Jasper–Prince Rupert* all daylight train in the Panorama Dome enjoying the views of both the Rocky and Coastal Mountains, Bulkley Canyon, Fraser and Skeena Rivers, quadruple Kitselas Tunnels and more. Includes a 3-night hotel stay in Jasper, plus 2 nights each in Prince George & Prince Rupert, visits to Maligne Lake Boat Tour, Columbia Icefields day trip, North Pacific Cannery Historic Site, Cow's Bay shopping district, Museum of Northern BC, Winnipeg Railway Museum, and additional exclusive heritage experiences.

Train Section/Berth(s) - $5,995.00 - Train Cabin(s) - $7,595.00 (Per Person Double Occupancy)
Single supplement add $800.00. FINAL PAYMENT DEADLINE AUGUST 12, 2022

CANADA'S HISTORY

Suggested pre- and post-tour nights at hotels usually located close to the train stations can be booked for you depending on availability. Prices shown do not include applicable taxes.

More details on the above at CanadasHistory.ca/travel. To book your space or for more details call RAIL TRAVEL TOURS toll free at 1-866-704-3528

Debatable history

"De-naming British Columbia," by Ry Moran (August-September 2021) was a well-documented article, and it touches on a subject that needs to be discussed.

I have no problem in renaming when it comes to issues like this that are reconciliatory and that recognize that derogatory names by their nature should not be perpetuated.

Where I draw the line, though — and I would think many Canadians would agree — is the wholesale misrepresentation of facts to support a good cause. We see too much of this these days.

What is needed is a factual presentation of history, which this article portrays, albeit with total one-sided hyperbole as the basis to show the "White man" as evil and the Indigenous people as innocent victims.

Brian Preston
Portland, Ontario

Your August-September issue is really wonderful. I also want to say that the article "De-naming British Columbia" by Ry Moran is particularly good.

I am not so concerned with changing the name of British Columbia as a symbol but rather as a way for Canadians to acknowledge injustice experienced by Indigenous peoples.

The word "reconciliation" is erroneous in this context. It is for the rest of Canada to acknowledge the injustice meted out to the Indigenous people over the centuries. Ry Moran seems to have understood and expressed himself very clearly and correctly, in my opinion. Many thanks for this issue.

Grace P. Marshall
Toronto

In "De-Naming British Columbia," Ry Moran writes that various place names in the province are "a reflection of the principle of *terra nullius* – a European legal fiction which held that land not occupied by Christians was vacant…."

While it is true that some Europeans frequently acted as if it was no one's land, it is incorrect to ground legal effect for such conduct in *terra nullius*. The Supreme Court of Canada determined that point in its 2014 *Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia* Aboriginal title decision when Chief Justice McLachlin stated, "The doctrine of *terra nullius* (that no one owned the land prior to European assertion of sovereignty) never applied in Canada, as confirmed by the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763."

Richard Krehbiel
Kisbey, Saskatchewan

Myth stakes

The August-September issue, with its theme of re-examining the past, was as advertised by editor-in-chief Mark Reid: painful.

The headline story by Charlotte Gray, an apologetic rewrite of her excellently written 2010 story from *Canada's History* magazine, was painfully underwhelming. She had already provided a very balanced viewpoint documenting the tragic consequences from the Indigenous perspective in 2010.

The most disappointing aspect of the story was the character assassination of Pierre Berton as a "mythmaker." The Klondike was not a "myth," and neither were Berton's stories. I have a great-grandfather who brought home gold nuggets from the Klondike and subsequently built a sawmill in northern Alberta that supported our family.

Books like Berton's *Klondike* are national treasures, and it is a shameful act to diminish authors unnecessarily or tear down history just to provide a different perspective.

Pierre Bourret
Sherwood Park, Alberta

Flight facts

You presented a great photo of the unveiling ceremony of the Vimy Memorial in 1936 (Currents, June-July 2021). The caption for the photo includes, "Shown here, RAF pilots fly First World War-era biplanes...."

To be accurate, in 1936 the Royal Air Force, and the Royal Canadian Air Force, for that matter, were still flying only biplanes on all squadrons. I believe the RAF sent four operational squadrons with "modern" aircraft to the ceremony. The photo is a bit unclear, but I believe the aircraft pictured are possibly Armstrong Whitworth Atlas or Gloster Gauntlet aircraft. The RAF entered the Second World War with many biplanes still on strength.

The days of the monoplane military aircraft were just on the horizon. The Bristol Blenheim became operational with the RAF in March 1937 (and with the RCAF in November 1939), the Hawker Hurricane became operational with the RAF in December 1937 (February 1939 for the RCAF), and the Supermarine Spitfire's first flight as a prototype aircraft was only in March 1936.

David MacLellan
Woodview, Ontario

Wise words

I enjoyed the article "The Rainmaker" in the August-September issue. It has been claimed that P.T. Barnum was the first to say, "There's a sucker born every minute." True then, true now, what with the plethora of scam artists online and via the telephone. The old adage prevails: If it sounds too good to be true, it probably is.

Ed Moore
Edson, Alberta

Erratum: Ingve Sikstrom was one of nine children in a family that came to Canada in 1903. Incorrect information appeared in the June-July 2021 Album item.

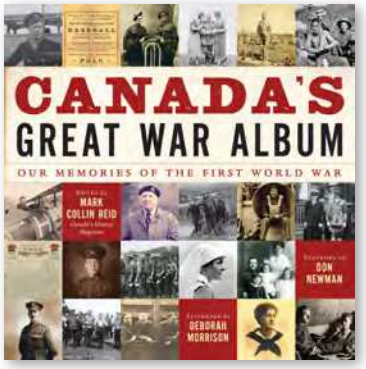
Email comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

SUBSCRIBE
Save 46% on the retail price*
CanadasHistory.ca/subscribe
*46% savings offer available on Canadian orders only

NEW EXCLUSIVE ITEMS IN STORE NOW!

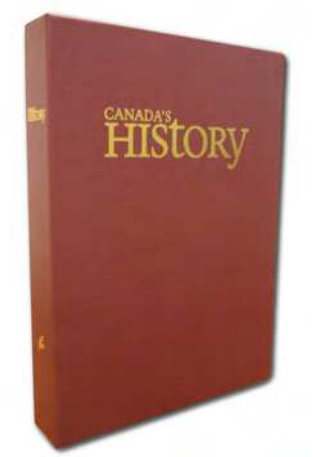
QUANTITIES ARE LIMITED ORDER TODAY!

MAPLE LEAF ANKLE SOCKS | REINFORCED HEEL AND TOE | 85% EGYPTIAN COTTON | DESIGNED IN CANADA



GREAT WAR ALBUM

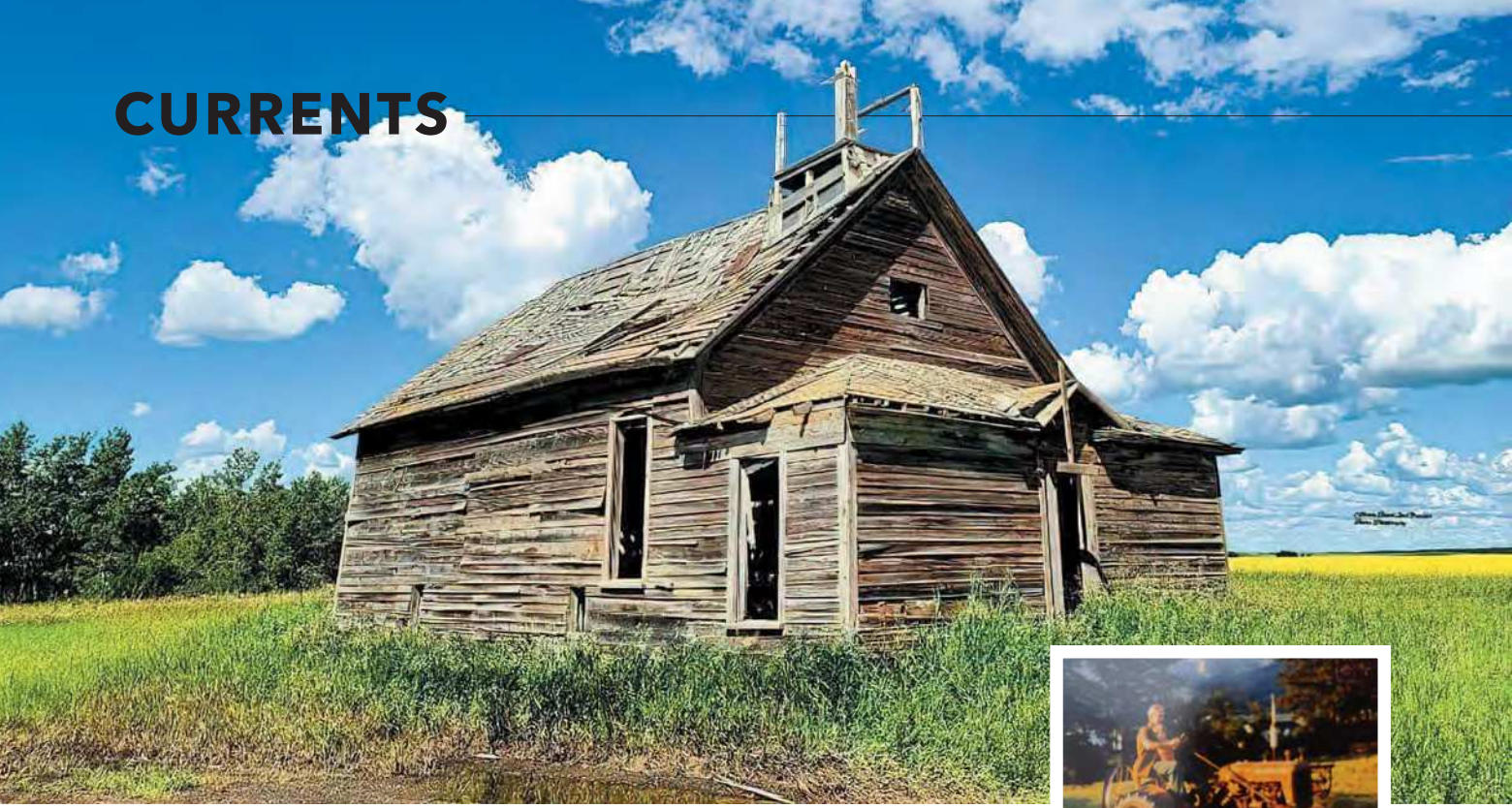
"I LOVE CANADA" LINEN TEA TOWEL



MAGAZINE SLIPCASE

ORDER ONLINE AT **CANADASHISTORY.CA/STORE** OR PHONE **1-888-816-0997**

CANADA'S HISTORY



Above: An abandoned farmhouse near Fort McMurray, Alberta. Right: Kristin Watson rides a tractor with her grandfather in the early 1980s. Below: An abandoned farmhouse in the County of Forty Mile, Alberta, was home to a couple who emigrated from Norway. The house has remained vacant since 1975.

Snapshots of the rural past

Facebook groups preserve rural history by photographing abandoned buildings. *by Sydney Lockhart*

When Kristin Watson found an old photo of herself as a child sitting on a tractor with her grandfather, she felt inspired to use photography to help to preserve the rural history of Canada.

She immediately thought of all the abandoned farmhouses, barns, grain elevators, and other buildings in Alberta's rural areas and decided to photograph as many buildings as she could to preserve their memory for future generations.

The forty-three-year-old Fort McMurray, Alberta, resident has since been joined in her quest by her husband, Levi Nealin, who uses a drone to locate abandoned buildings and to photograph them from the air.

Many of the buildings they come across are old churches, schoolhouses, and farm homes. "Why not honour the people that used to live in them?" Watson said.

The Alberta couple are part of a growing number of amateur and professional photographers who are preserving Canada's rural built heritage one frame at a time. Facebook groups such as Manitoba's Abandoned History (with 12,000 members) and Alberta's Abandoned History (with 13,900 members) are growing in popularity as places to post images of abandoned rural buildings.

Jason Sailer of Lethbridge, Alberta, administers Facebook groups devoted to abandoned buildings in Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. He said he launched the Facebook groups in 2014 to help out a friend who came up with the original concept. He said most people who post to the groups share a love for the history and heritage of rural Canada.

"It's just the interest in, and appreciation of, these little historical towns and villages, these little old grain elevators or bank buildings," Sailer said. "It's important in some way, shape, or form to preserve these for future generations."

TOP AND BOTTOM: KRISTIN WATSON; RIGHT: COURTESY KRISTIN WATSON

Above: Members of the 1929 Ottawa New Edinburgh Club "war canoe" half-mile champion paddling team. Left: The newly restored National Capital River Pavilion, formerly the Ottawa New Edinburgh Club boathouse, is on the Ottawa River northeast of Parliament Hill.

Making waves

Restoration of historic Ottawa boathouse nears the finish line. *by Dan Rubinstein*

It's a warm, sun-washed day in 1942, and a flock of fit women and men lounge on a large dock, paddle canoes, and climb to the top of a towering diving platform on the Ottawa River about five kilometres northeast of Parliament Hill. Behind them atop a concrete pier stands a gable-roofed, two-and-a-half-storey building fronted by a cantilevered veranda with views of the forested Gatineau Hills on the far shore.

That scene, from a vintage travel documentary, harkens back to an era of striped bathing suits and straw boater hats and depicts the Ottawa New Edinburgh Club (ONEC) boathouse as a lively hub of aquatic recreation. The steel-framed, wood-clad structure, designed by former Ottawa Improvement Commission head and prominent local architect C.P. Meredith and completed in 1923, was recognized as a Federal Heritage Building in 2010 for its links to Canadian canoeing history, its architectural value as one of the country's four remaining Queen Anne Revival-style boathouses, and its stunning natural setting.

Although interest in swimming declined over the decades because of concerns about water quality, and the swimming dock was swept away by spring-breakup ice in 1973, rowing and sailing grew in popularity, and the veranda and a second-floor ballroom continued to rock with weddings, dances, and barbecues. That lasted until a dozen years ago, when fire-code regulations restricted the number of visitors and the types of events that could be held.

Now, however, the National Capital Commission (NCC) is nearing the finish line of a three-year revitalization, and next summer ONEC plans to move back into the rechristened National Capital River Pavilion. The NCC is not only restoring and conserving as many of the building's heritage features as possible, while updating others to meet modern safety and accessibility standards, it's also creating a four-season gathering place – an effort to reconnect the community to its riverside past. "It's exciting that a landmark building rich with stories will once again be used to its full potential," says former ONEC member Natalie Bull, executive director of the National Trust for Canada, a non-profit organization dedicated to preserving the country's historic places.

Informed by a project led by Carleton University architecture professor Mariana Esponda, whose students digitally documented the boathouse and created thirteen detailed proposals for its future use, the renovation began in fall 2019 and wrapped up this summer. The wood cladding, tongue-and-groove flooring, and some windows were kept as part of an effort to maintain the structure's character, while a sprinkler system and elevator were installed and the bridge to the shoreline was replaced. The focus has now shifted to landscaping, with an anticipated reopening in July 2022. The revamped pavilion will feature concessions, an event space and outreach programs run by the Ottawa Riverkeeper watershed stewardship agency.

"There's going to be a new buzz," says ONEC president Meghan Hanlon. "It'll be great to see people on the water in a place they haven't been able to access for a while."

RIGHT: ONEC ARCHIVES; LEFT: CHRIS MIKULA

PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

A life of great note

He was a master jazz pianist and composer who gained worldwide admiration and acclaim for his dazzling dexterity, speed, and technique. But in 1945, when this photograph was made, Oscar Peterson was still a budding piano prodigy.

Taken for the Canadian Pacific Railway's staff magazine, the picture shows the nineteen-year-old Montrealer, on the right, playing a duet with his father, Daniel. Oscar's face is beaming, and it's likely a proud moment for Daniel as well. The elder Peterson worked as a porter for the railroad, and knowing that his son's talent would be shared with the magazine's readers would undoubtedly have been very fulfilling.

Oscar Peterson's influence and impact was felt far beyond the concert halls and auditoriums in which he performed. An early and vocal pioneer of the North American civil rights movement, he spent his life fighting for racial equality. Black Canadians in the 1940s and 1950s, like their American counterparts, faced immense hurdles and unfair treatment due to their race. Daniel Peterson regularly encountered racism while working for the CPR, and Oscar grew up determined to see justice for Black people.

Oscar Peterson first gained attention in 1941 when, as a fourteen-year-old, he won a CBC talent contest. By 1949 he was playing New York's Carnegie Hall and was well on his way to becoming an international jazz sensation. Over the ensuing decades, Peterson toured the world multiple times, selling tens of thousands of albums and winning eight Grammy awards, including one for lifetime achievement as an instrumental soloist. Inducted into the Order of Canada in 1972, he was made a Companion of the Order of Canada in 1984.

Among his most lasting legacies is the song "Hymn to Freedom," written by Peterson in 1962 with lyrics by Harriette Hamilton. The song, which includes the lines "When every heart joins every heart/ And together yearns for liberty/ That's when we'll be free," was adopted as a crusade anthem by the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Peterson suffered a stroke in 1993 that impacted the technical aspects of his playing but did not derail his productivity. After his death in 2007, the *New York Times* heralded him in an obituary as "one of the greatest virtuosos in jazz." A year later, "Hymn to Freedom" was inducted into the Canadian Songwriters Hall of Fame. In 2009 it was played at the inauguration of Barack Obama, the first Black president of the United States. – *M.C. Reid*

CANADIAN PACIFIC ARCHIVES A 21396

FROM THE ARCHIVES

The Trapper

For nearly two and a half centuries, the bedrock of the Hudson's Bay Company was the fur trade. Over time, the methods and tools used for trapping changed, but the relationship between trappers and traders remained the same, with each party aiming to barter for the best deal.

In *The Beaver*'s December 1943 issue, writer and photographer J.F. Dalmon published "The Trapper," a photo essay on the business of trapping and trading at Norway House, an HBC outpost at the northern end of Lake Winnipeg in Manitoba. Norway House was built along the Nelson River in 1817, and by the 1830s it had grown into a major trading depot. Eventually, it became the seat of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land.

"The Trapper" follows the story of Isaiah Clark, a Cree trapper, as he prepares to head into the wilderness in search of marten, mink, fox, and other valuable furs. His first stop is to visit with HBC outpost manager A.B. Fraser to discuss the locations where he would trap in the following weeks. Given an advance by the HBC, the trapper visits the company store to purchase supplies for the upcoming trip.

Finally ready to depart, Clark, with Dalmon in tow, clambers aboard his dogsled and heads out into the snow-covered forests to set his traps. A skilled and experienced trapper, Clark tailors each snare to the animal he hopes to catch. For marten, he uses spruce branches to funnel the animals toward a baited trap. For mink, he places a trap baited with fish at the bottom of a small hole dug along the shore of the Nelson River. For fox, he heads farther inland, burying his trap under some freshly fallen snow.

After some patience – and a little luck – Clark catches a silver fox. The photo essay follows him through the steps

J.F. DALMON, THE BEAVER, DECEMBER 1943

A selection of photographs from "The Trapper," a photo essay by J.F. Dalmon, originally published in the December 1943 issue of *The Beaver*. Clockwise from far left: Cree trapper Isaiah Clark of Norway House, Manitoba, holds aloft a bounty of furs. Clark makes camp in the forests along Manitoba's Nelson River. Clark, guiding a team of sled dogs, greets an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company at Norway House. Clark shows HBC trader A.B. Fraser a silver fox fur. Clark sets a trap for mink.

of skinning and preparing the animal and then finally returning home to Norway House to trade his fur bounty. The story ends with a series of photographs that depict the furs being pressed and packaged into bales to be shipped by air to Winnipeg, and eventually to Montreal for sale.

As Dalmon writes, "The story told in these pictures is a very old one. It has been enacted many thousands of times in the northern wilderness and at the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. These photographs unfold the modern version of the story, in which the old and the new are picturesquely combined."

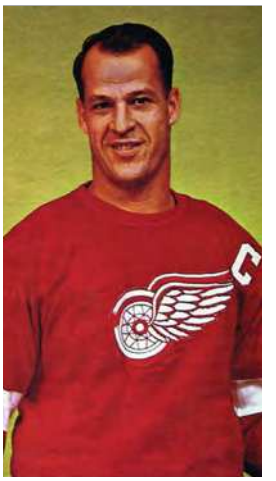
The Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver*, *Canada's History*, and *Kayak* was made possible with the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Please visit CanadasHistory.ca/Archive to read a century's worth of stories.

ALAMY

BY THE NUMBERS

He shot, he scored!

Seventy-five years ago, on October 16, 1946, Gordie Howe – a.k.a. "Mr. Hockey" – notched his first National Hockey League goal while playing for the Detroit Red Wings. Over the course of his record-setting hockey career, the pride of Floral, Saskatchewan, racked up a long list of impressive statistics.



4

Howe's age when he made his NHL debut. During the game, he scored once and fought twice.

18

The number of Stanley Cup championships Howe won.

1,767

The number of NHL games played by Howe. He retired in 1980 at the age of fifty-two with more games, goals, assists, and points under his belt than any other NHL player.

801

The number of goals he scored during his career – an NHL record that stood until it was bested by Wayne Gretzky in 1989.

Canada's History Gift subscriptions as low as $27.95

THIS HOLIDAY SEASON
GIVE THE GREATEST GIFT IN
HISTORY

SAVE
OVER 40% OFF THE COVER PRICE

Share our remarkable past with gift subscriptions to *Canada's History* and *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*

DON'T WAIT, ORDER TODAY!

Mail in the order card
Call **1-888-816-0997**
Order online at **CanadasHistory.ca**

Kayak Canada's History Magazine for Kids

Award-winning magazines for family and friends of all ages!

CANADA'S HISTORY

ARTIFACTS FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 42-26) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

Moccasins

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

Moccasins are among the most abundant articles of clothing housed in Canadian museum collections, including the HBC Museum Collection, which has 142 pairs! They were also one of the first things European fur traders incorporated into their daily lives when they realized that their footwear was unsuited for the rugged terrain of much of what we now call Canada.

Many different cultural groups make moccasins, and they therefore come in a wide variety of styles. They can be decorated with beadwork, quillwork, or — in this case — moosehair tufting. This pair was made in Fort Providence, N.W.T., from smoked moosehide and is trimmed with beaver fur.

The tufting is made by pulling dyed moosehair into bundles and laying them on the backing material. Thread or sinew is then passed up through the backing around the bundle, and the hairs stand up into a tuft when pulled tight. The bundles are placed close together, and the ends of the tufts are trimmed to the desired shape. Like beadwork and quillwork, tufting is an artistic skill that takes patience and practice.

— Amelia Fay, curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

BARBED WIRE BALLADS

Music and poetry helped two Canadian soldiers endure captivity, hunger, and forced labour in a Second World War German POW camp.

by Don Cummer

ALF BINNIE WAS NINETEEN IN 1939 WHEN HE LEFT MONTREAL FOR LONDON, ENGLAND. He was looking for adventure. He found it as a pilot in a Wellington bomber in No. 218 Squadron Royal Air Force, but that adventure did not last long. After flying missions over Le Havre and Boulogne, France, and Hanover, Dusseldorf, and Wilhelmshaven, Germany, Sergeant Binnie was shot down over Alkmaar, the Netherlands, on March 12, 1941.

"The Germans placed me in a naval hospital … and treated me to 3 1/2 months solitary in a cell and 3 operations on my thigh," he later wrote in a letter to a fellow veteran. "Infection was finally halted which saved amputation of the limb."

After recovering, Binnie was sent to the POW camp Stalag IX-C, a sprawling complex composed of many separate sub-camps, headquartered in Bad Sulza, Germany.

Eighteen months later, Canadians captured during the August 19, 1942, raid on Dieppe, France, began to arrive at the overcrowded camp. Among them was another Montrealer, Corporal Robert Prouse of the Second Canadian Division, who had been a private detective before the war.

It is not known whether Binnie and Prouse ever met, but the two men did share the same world of forced labour, hardship, and deprivation. And they each had a creative talent that helped them get through the hardest times. Binnie played jazz guitar. Prouse sketched, wrote

Above: Jimmy Culley and the Stalagians, an orchestra formed by prisoners of war in the German POW camp Stalag IX-C. Alf Binnie stands in the centre row, far right, holding his guitar.

Right: The guitar Alf Binnie purchased from a music shop in Weimar, Germany, while being held as a POW.

TOP: CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM/20120046-007

BOTTOM: CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM/20120046-001

Above left: A sketch of Bob Prouse by fellow inmate and British soldier J.C. Arnold. Above right: Canadian prisoners of war being marched through Dieppe, France, by German soldiers on August 19, 1942.

poems, and kept a secret diary that became the basis of his memoir, *Ticket to Hell via Dieppe*, published internationally in 1982.

In that memoir, Prouse recalled a twenty-one-day incarceration in solitary confinement that he served as punishment for an escape attempt: "Alone in the cell, the time seemed endless and the only really active thing was my mind…. My main pastime was writing poetry."

During the Second World War, the German army and air force operated dozens of Stalags (short for *Stammlager*), holding hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war. At Stalag IX-C, as many as forty-seven thousand prisoners were confined under crowded conditions. In his book, Prouse described a sub-camp where he was held: "The camp at Molsdorf consisted of a large group of huts surrounded by barbed wire and overlooked by a machine-gun tower equipped with a search light. Guards patrolled the perimeter with police dogs, while other guards intermingled on the inside. It was dusty and dirty in the hot weather and a sea of mud when it rained."

The prisoners worked in salt mines and stone quarries. "They gave them very little to eat, which was very hard on them. Mostly, just soup and hard bread," Alf Binnie's widow, Joan Binnie, said in an interview in 2013, four years after her husband's death. "I asked Alf how they managed to exist, and he said it was only because they were so young — nineteen or twenty. He said you could take a heck of a lot."

In addition to the meager German rations, the Allied prisoners received Red Cross packages that contained extra food and cigarettes. According to Prouse, the latter were used as camp currency: A bar of soap cost fifty cigarettes; a bar of chocolate, two hundred. Binnie, who did not smoke, saved his cigarettes and, in February 1942, used them to buy a guitar from a shop in the nearby city of Weimar. With the camp commandant's support, the prison guards made the purchase on Binnie's behalf, on the condition that he would play for them. The bill of sale records a price of 120 Reichsmarks. What it cost Binnie in cigarettes is not known.

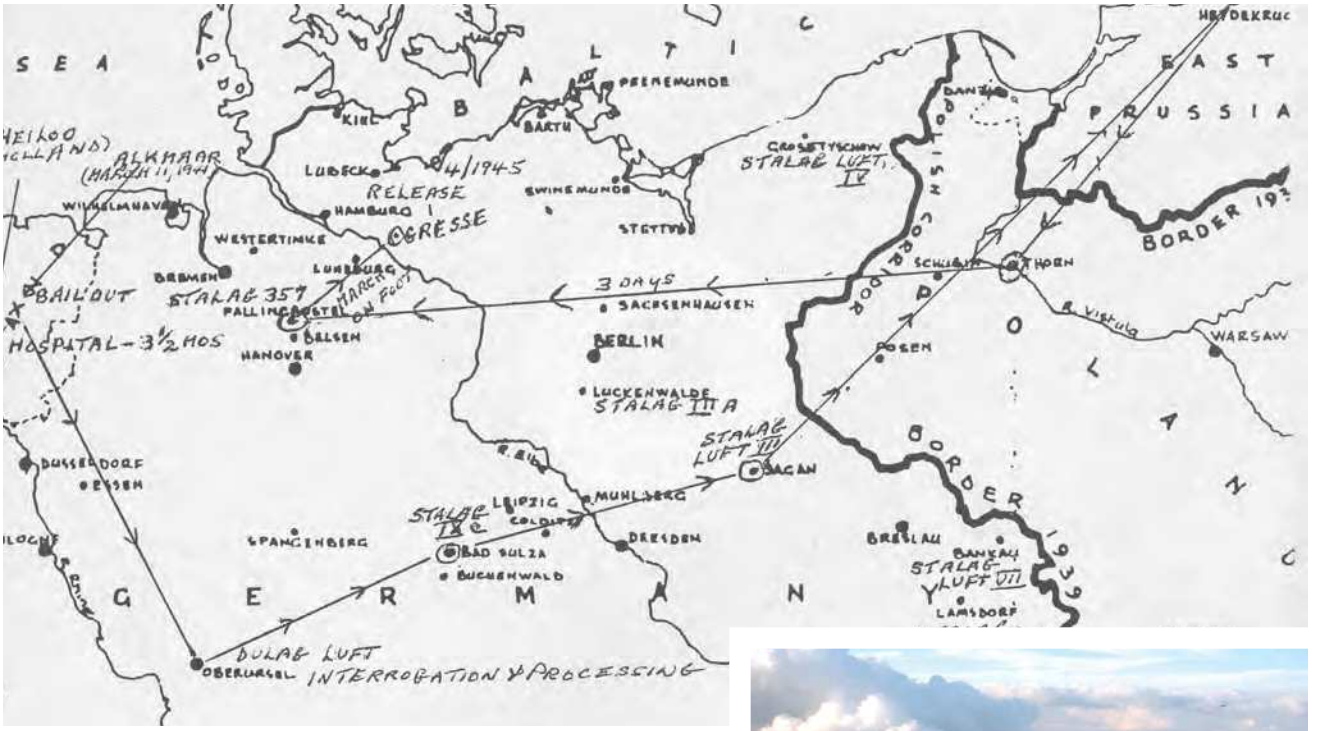
Although the Red Cross sometimes provided musical instruments to POWs, this guitar was special: a finely crafted copy of an archtop guitar designed by the famous American musical-instrument company Gibson. With its pearloid pickguard and headstock, it was a classy-looking and quality-sounding instrument. "Alf was floored because it was so beautiful," recalled his widow.

Binnie, a fan of the Romani-French musician Django Reinhardt, brought gypsy-jazz stylings to a prison-camp orchestra named Jimmy Culley and the Stalagians and to a smaller combo known as the Four Bilge Boys.

Under the Geneva Convention, which both Germany and Britain had signed, captors were required to provide intellectual diversions and recreational facilities for prisoners of war. Bands like Binnie's were therefore allowed to exist among British and Canadian prisoners. (Conditions were much harsher for prisoners from countries like Russia that had not signed the convention.) According to Joan Binnie, the guards in Stalag IX-C welcomed the entertainments put on by prisoners. "The Germans really enjoyed anything to do with music and would sit in the front row," she recalled Alf Binnie telling her.

On Sunday, April 26, 1942, both the orchestra and the

LEFT: IMAGE COURTESY OF ROBERT PROUSE/VAN NOSTRAND REINHOLD. RIGHT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/3194292



Above: Alf Binnie marked this map to show his movements while in German captivity: from his bailout over Alkmaar, the Netherlands, top left, he was transported south-southeast for interrogation and processing at Dulag Luft in Oberursel, Germany. He was then taken eastward to Stalag IX-C in Bad Sulza and Stalag Luft III in Sagan, Germany; northeast to Stalag Luft VI in East Prussia; southwest to Thorn, Poland; and westward to Stalag 357 in Bad Fallingbostel, Germany. Finally, he marched on foot to Gresse, Germany, where he was liberated by the British Second Army in April 1945.

Right: Royal Air Force Vickers Wellington bombers form up for a bombing operation against Germany in 1943.

Bilge Boys combo performed in a revue entitled *Strike Up the Band*. The orchestra played such numbers as "Smugglers Nightmare" and Cole Porter's "Night and Day." The Four Bilge Boys provided levity with a performance entitled "It Pays to Advertise." After the intermission, they returned with "It Still Pays to Advertise." Although most of the music was upbeat, the concert ended on a poignant note as a choir joined the orchestra for "The World is Waiting for the Sunrise."

The song had been published shortly after the First World War by the Canadian songwriting team of Eugene Lockhart and Ernest Seitz. For the young prisoners of war cut off from their homes, the lyrics must have been especially moving:

> Dear one, the world is waiting for the sunrise,
> Every rose is heavy with dew.
> The thrush on high his sleepy mate is calling,
> And my heart is calling to you.

"Alf told me, you would almost go crazy sometimes," Joan Binnie recalled. "The music helped get through bad times."

Just as music helped Binnie, writing helped Prouse to endure his ordeal. He recorded his thoughts, observations, and feelings on papers he kept hidden in secret hidey-holes that he'd built into his barracks while working as a camp carpenter. On his escape attempts, he carried his "scribblings" with him, concealed between two layers of leather in the soles of his boots.

Among his writings were nearly two dozen "Barbed Wire Ballads," poems that addressed topics such as freedom, comradeship, and homesickness.

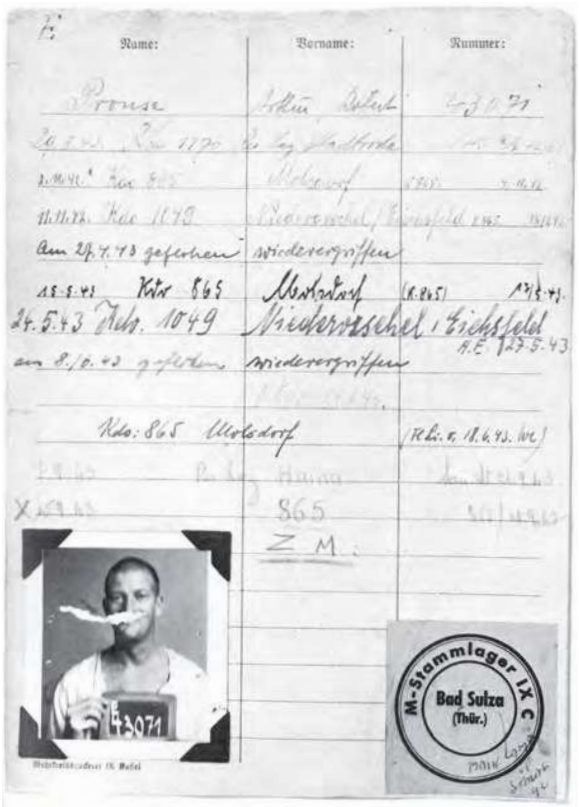
His poem "Misadventure" commemorated a fellow soldier who was shot dead while attempting a midnight escape: "The dark form now a part of night, silenced for all time/ He tried and failed, one asks no more, the sacrifice supreme."

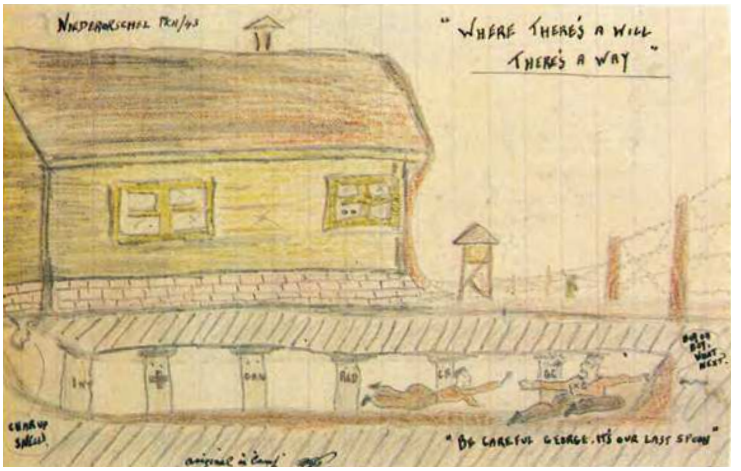
His poem "Land of my Birth" began: "I long for a glimpse of my homeland afar,/ Of bright Northern Lights and the twinkling stars."

"Besides being a useful hobby for whiling away the hours and releasing pent-up feelings, [the poems] gave me a lasting record of prison life and depict some of a prisoner's feelings and longings," he later wrote in his memoir.

Through three years of captivity and two escape attempts,

TOP: CANADIAN WAR MUSEUM/20120046-015_MAP_V1. RIGHT: GARY EASON/FLIGHT ARTWORKS/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO





Above: A cartoon from Prouse's wartime diary, depicting prisoners trying to escape from a Stalag.

Left: Prouse's prison record and mug shot. He stole the mug shot the night it was taken and kept it hidden in the false bottom of a tobacco tin throughout the war. After liberation, he took his prison record from the camp files. The fifth line of the prison record notes Prouse's first escape attempt: *Am 21.4.43 geflohen – wiederergriffen* (On 21.4.43 fled – recaptured). His second escape attempt on June 8, 1943, is noted on the eighth line of the record.

Prouse managed to hide his diary and poems from the Germans. Binnie was allowed to take his guitar with him as he was moved from camp to camp during the four years of his captivity, finally ending up in Stalag 357 in Bad Fallingbostel, near Bremen, Germany.

Over the bitterly cold winter of 1944–45, as the Soviet army advanced into Germany, the Nazis herded an estimated eighty thousand POWs westward in a deadly trek known as the March. Many succumbed to blizzards, starvation, and aircraft attacks — sometimes from Allied planes that mistook the columns of prisoners for the enemy. But some of those who survived managed to carry precious objects.

From April 2 to 7, 1945, Prouse was forced to march more than one hundred kilometres. "I couldn't bring myself to discard my notes and diary," he recalled in his memoir, "so I stuffed these inside my tunic, along with a dog-eared copy of [the historical novel] *The Robe*."

During the march, Prouse and others developed dysentery from drinking dirty water out of ditches. "On the way, many men gave up, too sick and weak to march any further.… Planes were bombing and strafing all day, but we were too sick to care what anyone was doing," he wrote. During an attack of dysentery, he used the pages of *The Robe* as toilet paper but kept his precious notes intact.

Finally, he ended up in the main camp of Stalag IX-C in Bad Sulza, which was liberated by the American Third Army on April 11, 1945. Evacuated to London, he later wrote: "I personally had a feeling of thankfulness that I had come through OK and, apart from some injuries, was relatively healthy.… The main feeling I had was of being free, free to come and go wherever I wanted." Upon his return to Canada, he became a sales manager for a Toronto-based manufacturer, married, and had children.

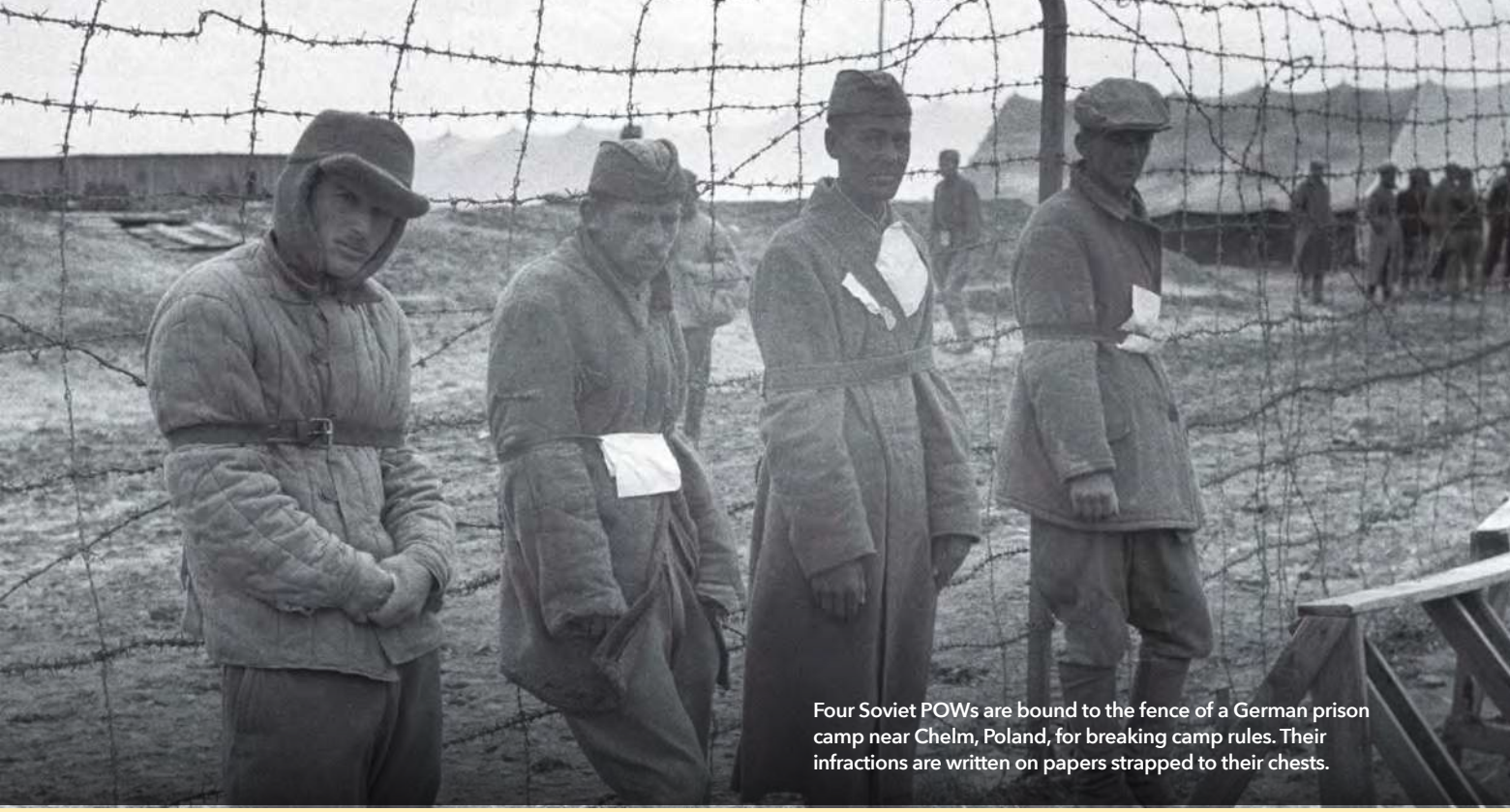
Binnie lugged his precious guitar on a ten-day, hundred-kilometre march from Bad Fallingbostel to Gresse, Germany, during which his column of POWs was mistakenly strafed by British Typhoon fighter bombers. "I did not hide in the ditch alongside the road," he later wrote in a letter. "Those who did 'didn't make it.'" His guitar suffered a snapped neck before he was liberated in Gresse by the British Second Army in April 1945.

During his captivity, Binnie had been promoted through the ranks and transferred to the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF), finishing the war with the rank of flying officer in the RCAF. It was not uncommon for the RAF and RCAF to promote captured servicemen, because being commissioned as an officer improved a prisoner's conditions in captivity, noted Jeff Noakes, Second World War historian at the Canadian War Museum.

After the war, Binnie returned to Montreal, where he met and married the woman who would remain his wife for the next fifty-nine years. Together they moved to Saint-Donat, in Quebec's Laurentian Mountains. He taught skiing, and they operated a hotel that was a favourite of musicians from Montreal and New York City.

After Binnie's death, his widow donated his papers and the guitar to the Canadian War Museum. The guitar was displayed in a special exhibition in 2013, a powerful reminder of the role music played in helping young Canadians get through their darkest days of the war.

IMAGES COURTESY OF ROBERT PROUSE/VAN NOSTRAND REINHOLD



Four Soviet POWs are bound to the fence of a German prison camp near Chelm, Poland, for breaking camp rules. Their infractions are written on papers strapped to their chests.

BPK / KARL ARTHUR PETRASCHK/30034123

AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM THAT SUPPORTED PRISONERS OF WAR

In 1899 twenty-six countries came together at The Hague, Netherlands, to codify the rules of war, including the treatment of prisoners. According to the Convention with Respect to the Laws and Customs of War on Land (known as the Hague Convention), each belligerent country had to establish a bureau to keep information on individual prisoners, who were to be fed, quartered, and clothed "on the same footing as the troops of the Government which has captured them."

During the First World War, the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (a humanitarian organization founded in 1863 to assist victims of armed conflict) enabled prisoners of war to establish contact with their families. After the war, the organization was instrumental in bringing nations together again to sign the Geneva Convention of 1929, which supplemented the POW provisions of the Hague Convention. Under the Geneva terms, for example, captors were to provide for religious needs, intellectual diversions, and sports and recreational facilities.

According to research conducted by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Nazis operated approximately one thousand POW camps during the Second World War. The number of Soviet POWs alone reached 5.7 million, while about nine thousand Canadians were interned. Canada itself established a network of twenty-five camps that held thirty-four thousand German combatants.

The International Committee of the Red Cross coordinated the humanitarian efforts of national Red Cross societies. Some one million Canadian Red Cross volunteers helped to assemble and ship 16.5 million parcels containing food and personal-hygiene products to POWs. Unlike British and American parcels, the Canadian parcels contained no cigarettes.

In theory, prisoners of all nationalities received Red Cross parcels, irrespective of which country had sent them. In practice, the Germans withheld parcels from Soviet prisoners because the Soviet Union had not signed the Geneva Convention. More than two thirds of the recipients surveyed after their release stated that without the Red Cross parcels they would not have had enough food. Another thirty per cent said that even with the parcels they did not get enough to eat.

There's no doubt that the work of the Red Cross helped prisoners in Germany survive their ordeal. In the Pacific theatre, prisoners suffered more severely. Japan disregarded the Hague and Geneva conventions, sidelined its national Red Cross organization, and barred Red Cross ships from its waters.

When looking at the POW mortality rates historian Niall Ferguson compiled for different nations, the impact of the Red Cross and of international conventions is striking: One third of American prisoners and one quarter of British prisoners held by the Japanese died while in captivity. In the Soviet Union, which did not sign the Geneva Convention, more than one third of German prisoners died; similarly, fewer than half of the Soviet prisoners held in German POW camps survived.

Among nations that conformed to the Geneva Convention, the mortality rates were much lower. Some 3.5 per cent of British POWs died while in German captivity. Of the thirty-four thousand German POWs in Canada, 137 died while in captivity – five of whom were hanged for the murder of a fellow POW. – *Don Cummer*

Pluck & Prowess

Harp virtuoso Winifred Bambrick defied her age and travelled the world.

by Mary E. Hughes

On a spring day in March 1914, Winifred Bambrick arrived with her mother at the Edison Records studio in West Orange, New Jersey. She was the first harpist ever invited to record for the famous inventor Thomas Edison.

Edison Records stood as one of the pioneers in sound recording. The company's Diamond Disc phonograph records represented the latest thing in audio technology, a major improvement on wax cylinders. It's likely that Bambrick's teacher, the renowned harpist and composer Angelo Francis Pinto, had arranged for her session. Bambrick planned to record one of his compositions, "One Sweetly Solemn Thought," along with a second piece, "Vision," by Gabriel Verdalle.

The young harpist played her pieces over and over again while a technician moved the recording horn a little closer, then a little further away, trying to achieve the best results. At last Edison was satisfied — so satisfied that he invited her to return in December to record two more songs.

A note in the Edison ledgers described Bambrick as a "Canadian child harpist." In fact, although she stood only four foot eight, Bambrick was twenty-two years old.

Perhaps it was Pinto who had come up with the idea of presenting his student as a child prodigy, or perhaps Bambrick and her mother had devised the deception. Either way, in the crowded musical marketplace of New York City, a young lady needed a competitive edge, and lying about her age proved an effective strategy — one that Bambrick went on to employ time and again throughout her long musical career.

Born in Ottawa on February 21, 1892, Bambrick was by all accounts a brilliant harpist, a musician who was equally happy playing classical music or show tunes, military marches or contemporary compositions. Though her talent was prodigious, her stature was not. Years later, when asked how she managed to handle her enormous harp, she quipped: "I weigh just ninety pounds, and so does my harp. We're well balanced."

Bambrick's parents were born in Canada of Irish descent. John Bambrick owned a successful grocery store in Ottawa's Lower Town. Young Winnie Bambrick attended the Convent of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, a school boasting a strong music department, and showed an early interest in the harp. "Mother took me to a harp recital when I was eight," she told the *Ottawa Citizen* in 1947, "and I made up my mind there and then to be the best harpist in the world." As a schoolgirl, she loved to perform and was often mentioned in reviews of school concerts. She was a bright and curious child, interested in everything. As well as music, she excelled at elocution and in her final year of school won a prize for painting.

However, the harp was her great passion. In 1904, the *Citizen* described the twelve-year-old's performance at a convent concert: "Special mention must be made of the harp solo by little Miss Winifred Bambrick, whose knowledge of the technique and clever fingering of the difficult string instrument was truly remarkable and would have done credit to a more mature performer."

After high school, Bambrick continued her harp studies, likely with Aptommas, a veteran Welsh harpist who went by a single name and who spent his final years in the Canadian capital. At eighteen, in 1910, she was good enough to be engaged as the harpist in the recently organized Ottawa Symphony Orchestra, and on one occasion that year she played before Lady Zoé Laurier, the wife of Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

But in Ottawa, a town of fewer than one hundred thousand people, opportunities for advanced study and performance were limited. Bambrick was hard-working and ambitious, and her mother encouraged that. Catherine Bambrick was herself musical but had never performed in public. She wanted more for her daughter. Late in the summer of 1911, Winifred Bambrick and her mother left John Bambrick and the grocery business behind and moved to New York City, where the up-and-coming harpist began intensive studies with Pinto.

Within two years, Maestro Pinto declared Bambrick ready for her debut. Her program consisted of "many works never before performed in public or having their first hearing in

BARRY OWEN FURRER COLLECTION

Winifred Bambrick stands beside the harp she played in the Sousa Band in the 1920s.

Inventor Thomas Edison with his second phonograph in 1878. By 1914, when Winifred Bambrick played for Edison, his audio recording technology had moved beyond cylinders to flat discs.

America." The *New York Times* of October 23, 1913, noted that the event "began dismally, because of a late start." Bambrick sounded "nervous, but it gradually became evident that she was possessed of decided virtuosity."

"She seemed to be about sixteen," the *New York Times* continued, although she was actually twenty-one. For the recital Bambrick wore a short dress, although floor-length gowns were customary for women. Her bobbed hair — in 1913, bobbed hair was for children — added to the impression of innocent girlhood.

Following her New York debut, Bambrick continued to study with Pinto, practising up to eight hours a day and playing occasional engagements in and around New York. A 1914 review in a Perth Amboy, New Jersey, newspaper observed: "The recital by Winifred Bambrick was most brilliant. The apparent youth of the artist first attracted the audience, but it was her tone and execution which held their attention throughout a delightful and varied program." Presenting Bambrick as a teen prodigy continued to be an effective marketing technique. In 1915 she was one of seven Canadian soloists at the All Canada Music Festival in Toronto, organized to "Help Canadian aviators help the Empire."

She got her first taste of life on the road when she joined the touring company of the musical comedy star Mitzi, a Hungarian soubrette who had dropped her surname, Hajas, deeming it unpronounceable. "I took the job," said Bambrick in a later interview, "in order to gain confidence, improve my technique and expand my repertoire." *Pom Pom*, a comic opera about a pickpocket, played two hundred performances in New York before going on tour in August 1916, a tour that lasted twenty months. Mitzi's next production, *Head Over Heels,* opened in New York in August 1918. Although it's unclear whether Bambrick performed in just one or both of the shows, touring with Mitzi aroused an appetite for travel and adventure that never left her.

Her big break came early in 1920, when she was contracted by the famous bandleader, composer, and former U.S. Marine John Philip Sousa. Sousa regularly engaged attractive women as soloists and always took great care that his young ladies were chaperoned. Catherine Bambrick was welcomed as a chaperone and travelled with the band whenever she could.

Touring with Sousa was hard work, but Bambrick loved it. "There's something fascinating in travelling from one place to another the way we do," she told a reporter in 1922. The band typically performed two concerts a day, seven days a week, in a dozen different towns, travelling for months on end. The few women in the band roomed together and were cautioned to avoid unnecessary association with the bandsmen so as to uphold the band's wholesome image and prevent scandal. But Sousa enjoyed the company of his female soloists. As scholar Paul Bierly wrote in *John Philip Sousa: American Phenomenon*, "It was his policy for the women to have their meals with him in public. One of their fringe benefits was that Sousa usually paid for their meals, and he often humorously complained that they 'ate up one side of the menu and down the other.'"

Bambrick was well-paid. In 1922, she made seventy-five dollars a week when an average weekly salary was just over thirty-two dollars. Sousa thought Bambrick was one of the greatest harp soloists he'd ever heard. He autographed her score of "Marching Along," one of his famous compositions: "To Winnie, Pride of the Band. May every happiness that the Lord can bestow be hers, forever and ever."

Bambrick loved her years with the Sousa Band. In a 1923 interview in Terre Haute, Indiana, she told a reporter, "I'm the only foreigner in the bunch.... I've been reared in music. My mother is a musician, although she has never done any professional work. She travelled with me until about six weeks ago." The reporter was enchanted. "Only a little more than five feet tall, with bobbed hair, twinkling brown eyes and vivacious manner, she looks like a child," he wrote when Bambrick was thirty-one. It's not known if Bambrick was comfortable at that time with the ongoing dissemblance about her age, but the Sousa organization was happy to perpetuate her maidenly image.

The stock market crash in October 1929 curtailed the Sousa Band's plans for that year, but in 1930 Ottawa was on the touring schedule. The *Ottawa Citizen* reported, "Miss Winifred Bambrick, the popular Ottawa girl, will be on the evening program as a soloist." However, at seventy-seven, Sousa was ready to retire, and the 1930–31 tour was the band's last. Sousa died the following year. After having enjoyed a steady gig for more than a decade, Bambrick was out of a job.

Very little is known about Bambrick's next few years. She was involved in a New York film production, *The Royal Box,* likely as a member of the studio orchestra. There are unverified suggestions that she went to Hollywood.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CWPBH.04044

Top: Bandleader John Philip Sousa poses in his conductor's uniform with a group of women on an Atlantic City steel pier in 1927.

Right: Winifred Bambrick, measuring four foot eight inches tall, stands beside her Sousa Band bandmate, the six-foot-six sousaphone player Jack Richardson.

In 1935 Bambrick and her mother sailed for England, a move they had talked about for years. John Bambrick had died six years earlier, and, though Winifred Bambrick had long outgrown the need for a chaperone, her mother was by now her trusted travelling companion. On the ship's manifest, the harpist dropped a decade and a half from her age, claiming to be twenty-seven when she was actually forty-three. In London she auditioned for the BBC, but the broadcaster did not have a suitable vacancy at the time. The William H. New Archive at the University of British Columbia (an invaluable source of documentation on Bambrick) has a copy of a pamphlet she sent to the BBC when seeking an audition. Always reinventing herself, she included in the pamphlet undated snippets of reviews from her 1913 New York debut and completely ignored her years with Sousa. She must have felt that presenting herself as a younger woman would generate more work.

Bambrick found employment in the house orchestra of the illustrious Alhambra Theatre in London. Ever pragmatic, she took what work there was during the Depression years and spent the summer of 1936 performing in a revue in the seaside town of Great Yarmouth. "Winifred Bambrick is winning much applause for her harp solos," said the *Stage,* a weekly performing-arts newspaper. Then another big break came her way. As Bambrick described it later: "It all began

TOP: UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS ARCHIVES/2010-120909-018. BOTTOM: BARRY OWEN FURRER COLLECTION

PALACE
PLYMOUTH
Week Commencing
MONDAY—JAN. 31
Telephone : Plymouth 6347
TWICE NIGHTLY
6.20 & 8.50
Owing To The Length Of This Colossal Attraction, First Performance Commences at 6.20
PRICES—Reserved, Stalls 2/6 Circle 2/- Pit 1/3. At the Doors, Stalls 2/- Circle 1/6 Pit 1/- Balcony 6d.
THE SENSATION OF FIVE CONTINENTS
William C. Doorlay's WORLD RENOWNED
Tropical Express NON-STOP INTERNATIONAL REVUE
1938
THE CONTINENTAL WONDER SHOW
ENTIRELY NEW TO ENGLAND
101 SCENES IN 120 MINUTES

A poster advertising the non-stop revue *Tropical Express,* produced by Brazilian showman Curt Doorlay. While Doorlay capitalized on the exotic allure of his troupe's international cast, he also took a political and personal risk by staging a multi-ethnic show in Nazi Germany, where racial purity was state policy.

when I was playing on the harp for the BBC.... One day, as I was putting away my harp after a recital, an impresario came in. He confessed he had been listening to my recital on his own radio and had not waited till the end, but had driven down to the studio to interview me before I could get away. Without beating about the bush, he offered me a year's contract to travel Europe with his troupe."

The impresario was the brilliant showman Curt Doorlay, and the show was Doorlay's non-stop revue *Tropical Express*. This was a fast-paced mélange of international acts ranging from ballet to farce, with nude tableaux, animal acts, Malayan jugglers, Javanese acrobats, a multi-ethnic troupe of dancing girls, comedians, and even yogis.

The three-hour show was truly non-stop, one spectacular scene after another. There was a troupe of Spanish dancers, followed by an Italian tenor singing opera, followed by life-sized marionettes of waiters walking across the stage on their hands, followed by a typhoon scene in which fuzzy-wigged Fijians danced around a huge fire until a giant wind machine blew everything and everyone into the wings. Bambrick, arrayed in a gold metallic Grecian dress, gold sandals, and a gold hairband, played "Ave Maria." She went on tour with *Tropical Express* in October 1936 and remained with the company for nearly three years.

Meanwhile, Doorlay was busy assembling a bigger and better revue called *Wonder Rocket*. In the spring of 1939, war was imminent, and the situation in Germany was tense and frightening, especially for a multi-ethnic theatre company at a time when racism was German state policy. Doorlay took *Wonder Rocket* to Germany anyway, and Bambrick and her mother went along. Things came to a crashing halt halfway through their run in Leipzig. Her vivid account of their escape has survived in a long letter that she wrote from London, England, on October 27, 1939, to her brother Eddie Bambrick in Ottawa:

"The last night before we left they kept stopping us to call men from the audience, the whole city was mobilized in a few hours — they took the boys from their beds in the night — the police who knew us dashed to the theatre to tell us we must leave at once, the last official train was leaving before they closed the border…. We could only take what we could carry as there were no baggage cars, so everything was stored away for us. Truly those people are governed by madmen….

"When we got to Hanover, we had to change trains — our train had been taken for the Militaire — so we sat on our bags and waited; all we saw all night were troops and cannons and thousands and thousands being evacuated.... At 4 a.m. the Cologne Expresse came through, miles long with three engines, but they were packed like sardines so we could not get on…. An hour later another train came and we rode a couple of hours, and kept on doing that for 3 days and nights…. So, we got to the Dutch border — the German police didn't look at Mama's passport or search for money, but shouted out 'Auf Wiedersehen' — that was the last train over the border."

Bambrick and her mother stayed in England for ten months. She would claim later that they survived the Blitz and two years in war-ravaged London, but in fact they were back in Canada by late August 1940. The thrilling story of their escape appeared in a series of articles in the *Ottawa Citizen* in September of that year. It was probably Bambrick's first published writing and demonstrated that she could tell a story.

Settling in Montreal, Bambrick soon obtained work giving recitals at ladies clubs such as the Dominion–Douglas Ladies Literary Society. Similar engagements were her main source of income over the next few years, although there were other gigs. Generally, audiences were not drawn to the performing arts during the anxious years of the war. Cinemas were packed, but opportunities for a solo harpist were few. A practical woman, Bambrick must have set aside some of her substantial earnings over the years to tide her

V&A MUSEUM/S.49-1988

through these times, and there may have been some income from her father's estate. Unlike many musicians, though, she did not teach to make ends meet.

Catherine Bambrick's ill health made touring impossible. While caring for her mother — who died in July 1943 at the age of seventy-eight — Bambrick began to write stories about her experiences in pre-war Europe. She sold several of the stories to the *Montreal Standard* and to British magazines. With the help of the *Standard*'s fiction editor, Edmund Fancott, she worked on turning them into a novel called *Continental Revue*. Fancott and Bambrick are listed as co-authors on their 1945 application to the Canadian Patent Office, although, rather curiously, Fancott's name does not appear anywhere in the book.

The novel itself is part documentary and part drama. First comes a detailed and fascinating account of the helter-skelter revue. Then the narrative becomes more dramatic as the company prepares to return to Germany with its new show. The rest of the book recounts the challenges the performers face in Nazi Germany and ends with their dramatic escape.

Continental Revue was published in London and New York in 1946. Never shy to promote herself, Bambrick promptly joined the Canadian Authors Association and attended its 1946 convention in Toronto, where she performed two harp solos at the annual dinner. Interviewed that fall by the *Montreal Gazette*, Bambrick stated as fact the mythology she had spun about her own life: "I went at the age of ten to New York to study and went on tour when I was only a child."

Continental Revue appeared in Canada in early 1947, "with a cheap hideous English jacket," wrote William Deacon, critic at the *Globe and Mail*. The imaginative and largely unsubstantiated back-cover copy — which claimed, among other things, that she made her debut in the United States as a child prodigy at the age of twelve and was hired by Sousa immediately afterwards — has been a source of confusion for Bambrick biographers. To Bambrick's surprise, her book was nominated for the 1946 Governor General's Literary Award for fiction. Deacon, who was also president of the Canadian Authors Association, wrote Bambrick with the news that she had won. Bambrick replied on April 16, 1947, describing her shock and excitement: "For one who has spent their whole life in public it is strange that it should have had such a terrific effect on my system."

Although her novel had won an important literary prize and garnered some excellent reviews, Bambrick's musical career was floundering. Now in her late fifties, she spoke about writing a second novel. In November 1949, Ryerson Press advertised the imminent publication of Bambrick's *Lasting Spring*, calling it "a romance of a stirring period of American music." However, no copies of *Lasting Spring* have ever surfaced.

By then Bambrick had sailed for England. "I'm eager to go travelling again," she told one interviewer in 1947, "to return to Europe where there is a taste for live people on the concert stage." In London she made one appearance on a BBC variety show, but there is no record of further bookings. London was her home for most of the 1950s, although she undertook at least one more exotic engagement. In June 1951, Bambrick voyaged to Penang, Malaysia, with three women musicians and bandleader Trevor McCabe, a drummer who had entertained Allied troops during the Second World War. On the ship's manifest, the fifty-nine-year-old Bambrick dropped an incredible twenty-four years from her lifespan and now cited her age as thirty-five. What had begun as a marketing ploy had seemingly become a fixation.

Left: Winifred Bambrick's 1946 novel *Continental Revue*.

Right: Bambrick in 1946.

In 1960, nearly seventy and suffering from emphysema, Bambrick returned home to an apartment in Montreal, then lived for a while with family before moving into a nursing home. Her grandnephew Michael Bambrick took her to Canada's centennial fair Expo 67 and fondly remembered his lively great-aunt as something of a Bohemian in dress and manner. Although her health was failing, she had not lost her zest for life. She died in the nursing home in April 1969.

Although her later years were not filled with glory, Bambrick was a trouper, never giving up and never giving a lesson. She never married, and there is no written record of any love affairs. When praised for her achievements, she once told an Ottawa journalist, "My success is due to hard work, that's all. It gets to be a habit, but I thrive on it."

Bambrick had the unique distinction of being a world-class harpist as well as an award-winning author. She deserves more recognition in the pages of both musical and literary history in Canada. Although her novel is long out of print, second-hand copies can still be found. And, thanks to the sound technologies pioneered by Edison and developed over the ensuing century, we can still hear her play the pieces she recorded in 1914. To listen to the Edison recordings of Bambrick playing "One Sweetly Solemn Thought" and "Vision," visit CanadasHistory.ca/Harpist.

TOP LEFT: LOWERTOWNECHO.CA. TOP RIGHT: NEWSPAPERS.COM

Life of Riley

A birthday calendar from 1941 reveals the personal side of a prairie insurance magnate. *by Susan Riley*

I spent the first seven years of my life eating every meal with my great-grandfather Robert Thomas Riley. That may sound impossible, considering that I was born in 1946 and he had died in 1944. He was an ongoing presence in my life as a formal portrait hanging on the dining room wall in the house where I grew up — the house that belonged to my Riley grandparents, Herbert and Ivy, in Fort Garry, Manitoba. His was a handsome, friendly face that only became a bit intimidating through the years as I learned about his role as the revered head of a large family, the founder of a financial empire, and a leader in his adopted hometown of Winnipeg.

I lived with my Riley grandparents because my father, Dr. Bill Riley, had killed himself in 1947, when my brother was two and I was just nine months old. With my mother needing help, my grandparents took the three of us in. I learned early on that we were able to live well in those postwar years because of the industriousness of my great-grandfather, known affectionately to family and friends as R.T.

Author Susan Riley, left, with her brother Mike Riley in the dining room of their grandparents' house in Fort Garry, Manitoba.

R.T. and I soon became close companions in that dining room as I learned proper table manners with my correct grandparents — and also how to hide the mushy vegetables I didn't like under their oak buffet.

Fort Garry was an idyllic place to grow up in the 1940s and 1950s. My grandparents' home was located on an oversized property, with a vacant lot next door that was home to a swing set and a slide. Car traffic was sparse, and there was even a horse-drawn cart that delivered our eggs. However, in 1954 our mother remarried, and we moved to a new neighbourhood, St. Boniface, which seemed far away from Fort Garry and R.T.'s portrait.

As the years passed, R.T. faded from my thoughts. Eventually, I graduated from high school and decided to pursue a career in journalism. However, I would soon be reacquainted with my great-grandfather.

In graduate school at Carleton University in Ottawa in the 1960s, I decided to focus on financial journalism and chose as a thesis topic "The Rise and Fall of the Bank of Western Canada."

The story centred around a failed attempt to launch a new chartered bank headquartered in Winnipeg in 1967. I soon learned that bank's key founder was James Coyne, who had gained national notoriety in 1961 by resigning as governor of the Bank of Canada after publicly clashing with then Prime Minister John Diefenbaker.

When I called the Coyne residence in Winnipeg to request an interview with James Coyne, his wife, Meribeth Coyne, answered the phone. During our conversation, we soon discovered that I was related to Meribeth's first husband, Sanford Riley. Sanford Riley had been my father's first cousin and was one of R.T.'s grandsons. She ensured that I got the interview I needed, and my thesis secured for me Carleton University's gold medal in journalism in my graduation year of 1968. It also helped me to land a job as a financial reporter at the *Montreal Gazette*.

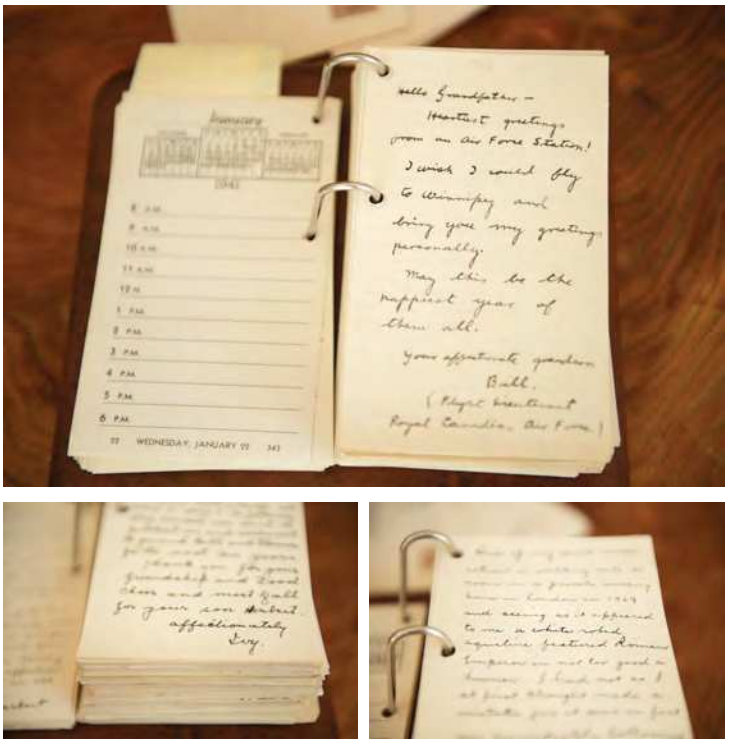
It didn't take long to realize that recognition of the Riley name extended far beyond Winnipeg. In eastern Canada, I kept running into business leaders who would hear my name and ask if I was related to "the insurance company Rileys." When I eventually moved back to Winnipeg in the 1970s and became business editor at the *Winnipeg Tribune* and prairie correspondent for the *Financial Post,* I began to realize how important R.T. had been to the growth of the city as a business magnate, an alderman, and a member of the board of trade.

Flash forward to the summer of 2020 at a family cottage at Lake of the Woods, Ontario, when my second cousin Nancy Riley, another one of R.T.'s great-granddaughters (and the daughter of Meribeth Coyne), produced for me copies of letters written for R.T.'s ninetieth birthday in 1941. Nancy told me she had the original friendship calendar from which these copies had been taken — a calendar painstakingly prepared by R.T.'s daughter Maud and composed of nearly two hundred handwritten birthday greetings from family, friends, and business associates. Maud had given the calendar to R.T. as a present to help him pass the days and remember the important people and places of his long, eventful life.

Selecting a copy of one of the letters, Nancy read aloud a moving message from R.T.'s grandson Ab Riley. Looking forward to the end of the Second World War, Ab, just twenty-three, outlined his "hopes for big things,"

LEFT: COURTESY SUSAN RILEY; OPPOSITE PAGE: COURTESY RILEY FAMILY/PHOTOGRAPHER TONI HAFKENSCHEID

An oil painting of Robert Thomas Riley. A similar painting hung in the dining room of author Susan Riley's grandparents.



Above left, clockwise from the top: Notes in R.T. Riley's birthday calendar from his grandson Bill Riley, his son Herbert Riley, and his daughter-in-law Ivy Riley. Above right: A family portrait of Ivy Riley, left, seated with her husband Herbert Riley, right, with their two children, Eleanor Riley and Bill Riley, between them.

including marriage, a career, and children. His words were heartbreaking to us, because we knew that Ab Riley was later killed in action in Italy in 1944.

Nancy told me that the calendar also contained letters from my father, Bill, written while he was overseas during the Second World War, as well as letters from my Riley grandparents. She offered to send the original letters to my home in British Columbia so that I could explore them in more detail. Knowing well from my work as a journalist the value of original documents as unvarnished history, I gratefully accepted her offer.

A few weeks later, I opened the package from Toronto, excited to reunite with R.T. some eighty years after he had paged through these very greetings during his ninetieth year.

I turned the brittle, aging pages carefully to letters written by my own family — people I thought I knew well. I recognized my father's handwriting from his war letters; he had written to R.T., his beloved grandfather, from his posting overseas (censors didn't allow him to reveal the exact location), where he was serving as a medical officer with the Royal Canadian Air Force. Another letter, written by my father's sister, my aunt Eleanor, contained vivid memories of a grandfather she clearly knew well and loved.

The grandparents I grew up with emerged from their letters to R.T. not as the frail, elderly people I had known in my teens but rather as a vibrant and funny couple in their early fifties, filled with levity and oblivious to the looming tragedy that would soon claim the life of their son. My grandfather Herb offered a memory of R.T. in hospital in London, England, as "a white-robed, aquiline-featured Roman Emperor in not too good a humor." It was an inside joke, referring to the time my great-grandfather was forced to shave his signature beard and moustache in preparation for surgery. Meanwhile, my grandmother Ivy remembered R.T.'s dismay at visiting their new home in Fort Garry: "A dark night after moving to Fort Garry, you arrived … and said, 'All alone not even a dog?' The following day Towser was sent to protect us and continued to guard [the children] Bill and Eleanor for the next ten years. Thank you for your friendship and Good Cheer and most of all for your son Herbert." To see my grandparents brought to life through these birthday greetings filled me with joy.

Digging deeper into the letter collection, I found several from women who had married into R.T.'s family. Their love and respect for him shone through and spoke volumes about his genuine esteem for women.

"Probably the luckiest thing that ever happened to me was going on a West Indies cruise in the spring of 1921 and meeting Harold," wrote daughter-in-law Ruth Moore Riley, wife of R.T.'s second-youngest son. Harold was reported killed in action in the Second World War, only to miraculously recover from critical wounds and return to Winnipeg to start a law firm that still bears his name.

From R.T.'s granddaughter Harriet Perry, by then a doctor at the Winnipeg General Hospital: "I always enjoy thinking about the time we went to

TOP LEFT THREE PHOTOS: COURTESY OF RILEY FAMILY/PHOTOGRAPHER CRAIG COCHRANE. TOP RIGHT: COURTESY RILEY FAMILY

the Rodeo at River Park … the man on the flying trapeze performed to the tune of the same name which you recalled from the days you said you were 'young and giddy.'" This shared memory was especially poignant, given that Harriet's mother, R.T.'s daughter Lavinia Bell, had drowned at Kenora, Ontario, in 1920.

As I turned the friendship calendar's pages, a new picture of R.T. emerged, one not captured in the public persona I'd pieced together from newspaper articles, history books, and even his own memoirs, written in 1928. The letters showed his warmth and generosity towards his large extended family and the depth of his, and his family's, connections to business and politics throughout Western Canada and into the United States.

Like many wise business people, R.T. stayed out of partisan politics but made sure he was connected to those in power when necessary. Hugh Amos Robson, a former Manitoba Liberal leader and later chief justice of Manitoba, sent a memory: "I have often mentioned that I first saw you in the witness box in Regina, when you very emphatically told an insinuating counsel that your reputation in Winnipeg was better than his was. It was a bold stroke, straight from Yorkshire. It ended the discussion.… You have shed a welcome light over this community."

A greeting from a former Conservative prime minister arrived at the Riley household on notepaper embossed with the red seal of the Senate of Canada. After a political career as the Conservative Member of Parliament for Portage la Prairie from 1908 to 1926, which included two stints as prime minister in 1920–21 and 1926, followed by an appointment to the Senate in 1942, Arthur Meighen wrote to R.T.'s daughter Maud: "I am awfully happy to be included in those who are to have a place in Mr. Riley's Calendar." His handwritten note to R.T. said: "You have achievements big and worthy … and a family of great credit. May the evening be happy for one of the very best of Canada's grand

R.T. Riley looks on as his son Sanford jumps his horse over a table set for tea.

FARMER, FATHER, FINANCIER

Robert Thomas Riley was born in Yorkshire, England, on July 1, 1851, the son of Lavinia Riley (née Bell) and Thomas Riley, a ship owner and publisher. After being educated in England, he immigrated to Canada in 1873 at the age of twenty-two and married Harriet Murgatroyd.

Riley first settled in Hamilton, where he established himself as a farmer. While there, he met the businessman William Eli Sanford, who hired him to help manage a vast wetland-drainage project in rural Manitoba.

In Sanford's employ, Riley moved to Winnipeg with his growing family in 1881. A few years later, he became the chief manager of Sanford's Westbourne Cattle Company, a ten-thousand-hectare ranch some 120 kilometres west of Winnipeg.

In 1891 Riley became one of the founding directors of the Great-West Life Assurance Company under the principal founder and managing director, Jeffrey Hall Brock. Riley served on the Great-West board of directors for more than fifty years before retiring in 1943.

In 1896 Riley started the first of the Riley group of companies, the Canadian Fire Insurance Company, which eventually became Canadian Indemnity.

Riley served as a Winnipeg city alderman in 1887–88 and 1907–8, president of the Winnipeg Board of Trade in 1895, and chairman of the Winnipeg Hospital Commission for six years. He was president for some fifteen years of the Winnipeg Boys Club, which operated a drop-in centre and organized sports teams. He was a member of the Manitoba Club and the St. Charles Country Club.

R.T. and Harriet Riley raised a large family. Together they had two daughters, Lavinia and Harriet Murgatroyd (known as Maud); three sons who died of croup in infancy, William, Thomas, and George; and four more sons who lived to adulthood, Robert Sanford, Conrad Stephenson, John Herbert, and Harold James.

Riley died at his home in Winnipeg on July 29, 1944, at the age of ninety-three. He is buried in the St. John's Anglican Cathedral Cemetery in Winnipeg.

TOP RIGHT: COURTESY RILEY FAMILY/PHOTOGRAPHER TONI HARKENSCHEID

18+

WHAT IS AVAXHOME?

AVAXHOME-

the biggest Internet portal, providing you various content: brand new books, trending movies, fresh magazines, hot games, recent software, latest music releases.

Unlimited satisfaction one low price
Cheap constant access to piping hot media
Protect your downloadings from Big brother
Safer, than torrent-trackers

18 years of seamless operation and our users' satisfaction

All languages
Brand new content
One site

AVXLIVE.ICU

AvaxHome - Your End Place

We have everything for all of your needs. Just open https://avxlive.icu

Author Susan Riley, left, sits beside her cousin Nancy Riley at a family cottage on Lake of the Woods, Ontario. Nancy Riley shared their great-grandfather's birthday calendar with Susan Riley as a valued record of their family history.

old men, who has really been my friend and whom I honour."

I was surprised to see a warm greeting from Henri De Kruif, a well-known member of the Group of Eight modernist Los Angeles artists. "In you," De Kruif wrote, "I admire the sturdiness and humor of old England plus the energy of the west." He accompanied the handwritten good wishes with a drawing of Uncle Sam smoking a cigarette.

A letter from the Winnipeg Golf Club noted that R.T.'s parrot Pol would loudly exclaim: "What's your score R.T.?" when he came in the door after a game.

Another handwritten greeting was signed only "John the Gardener," but the letter revealed the writer's long association with R.T., who served for six years as the first chairman of the board of the Winnipeg Hospital Commission. John Calmes, who was the gardener at the Winnipeg Municipal Hospital, wrote: "Mr. R.T. Riley was far more interested in the growing of flowers and vegetables and also in the well-being of the patients and everyone than I could have been myself."

When the gardener's bosses wouldn't buy him a disk harrow, John complained to R.T., and, magically, one arrived the next day. I remembered wheeling my grandfather Herbert through those cheerful gardens many years later when he was confined to hospital with dementia.

None of the accounts I had read of R.T.'s life described his faith. But the calendar quietly celebrated that important part of his life. Samuel Pritchard (S.P.) Matheson, archbishop of Rupert's Land, by then eighty-eight years old, reminisced about how their early brief encounters blossomed into a strong bond. "As older men of nearly the same age, our long association had ripened into a deep and warm friendship. God bless my dear friend." Along with his contribution to the calendar, Archbishop Matheson included an apology: "I too am confined to the home especially since the weather has become cold.… You will notice how crooked my lines. I am no longer able to keep straight." He died two years later.

And so, for this great-granddaughter who never met him in person, my reunion with R.T. and my discovery of his role in my family and the history of Manitoba and Canada was a fascinating and moving journey into the past during this pandemic year — this visit with a man who arrived in Canada in 1873 at the age of twenty-two from Yorkshire, England, and, after relocating to Manitoba in 1881, made it his life's work to promote Winnipeg and the West; a business and community leader who lived through two world wars, the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, and the Great Depression, and who maintained close ties to friends and family through it all. At first I had wanted to read this collection to learn about my immediate family, but it has offered me much more. There is always the sadness at what I lost in my first family, but it now exists alongside a new gratitude for a larger family, infused with the values of its patriarch.

It struck me that, thanks to his daughter Maud, R.T. was blessed to read heartfelt thoughts from admirers — thoughts of the sort that often appear only later in obituaries. I was fortunate to learn that so many people from different backgrounds had taken the time to show him that they really cared, in a time when delivering handwritten notes was more cumbersome than tapping out a quick text message that might be deleted the same day. I have learned, during this year of isolation, that human relationships trump everything in this life, and I think R.T. would be happy to know that his birthday calendar has imparted this piece of wisdom to me in 2021.

I often wonder, in this digital age, whether we will lose the vivid history that comes alive in handwritten letters. This collection is a gift to future generations.

TOP: COURTESY RILEY FAMILY/PHOTOGRAPHER PATRICE NELSON

The Beaver

CONTENTS

TREATIES ONE & TWO PAGE 38

HEADWATERS OF THEIR OWN STREAM PAGE 48

AUTUMN 2021

On the Cover: Jackson Beardy, *Nanabush Catches the Eagle*, 1972

AGOWIGIIWINAN BEZHIG MINAWAA NIIZHIN

COMMEMORATING THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF TREATIES ONE AND TWO GIVES US ALL AN OPPORTUNITY TO HONOUR OUR ANCESTORS' SACRED PROMISES TO LIVE IN PEACE AND SHARE THE BOUNTY OF THE LAND.

BY WABI BENAIS MISTATIM EQUAY (CYNTHIA BIRD)

IN 2021 WE COMMEMORATE ONE HUNDRED and fifty years since First Nations peoples came together with the Crown's representatives and entered into Treaty Number One and Treaty Number Two — agreements that, in the Ojibwe language, we call *Agowigiiwinan Bezhig Minawaa Niizhin*.

Some commemorative events were held locally in First Nations communities this summer, and others were held jointly among the historical Treaty partner representatives.

Who are the historical Treaty partner representatives? They are the First Nations peoples of this land — my relatives — and the Crown as represented by delegated government officials. They are the ones who set the Treaty table, came together with a vision for each of their peoples, and within that spirit and intent made a solemn agreement as to how we would live together in peace and share in the bounty of the land. It is now 2021, one hundred and fifty years later. We get to reflect on their legacy and to take stock of what we have done with that vision and of the ties that connect us all as Treaty people.

My personal connection to Treaty One is through my great-great-grandfather William Asham, on my paternal grandmother's side. He was a young man of eighteen years when he witnessed the making of Treaty One at the Stone Fort (Lower Fort Garry, Manitoba). I am also a member of the Peguis First Nation, one of the signatories to Treaty One. The Treaty legacy is dear to my heart. As a Treaty person, I take my responsibility seriously to uphold the Treaty and to honour the vision our leaders had for us: to ensure that we retained our way of life and the relationship with our lands. Much has happened since 1871 to dispossess First Nations people of our lands, languages, and way of life. Today we are fortunate that there are opportunities available to us to learn our languages and to connect with our way of life, thanks to those who preserved the languages and the ways of our people and who made a lifetime commitment to teaching others. *Kinanaskomitin. Miigwech*. Thank you to our relatives.

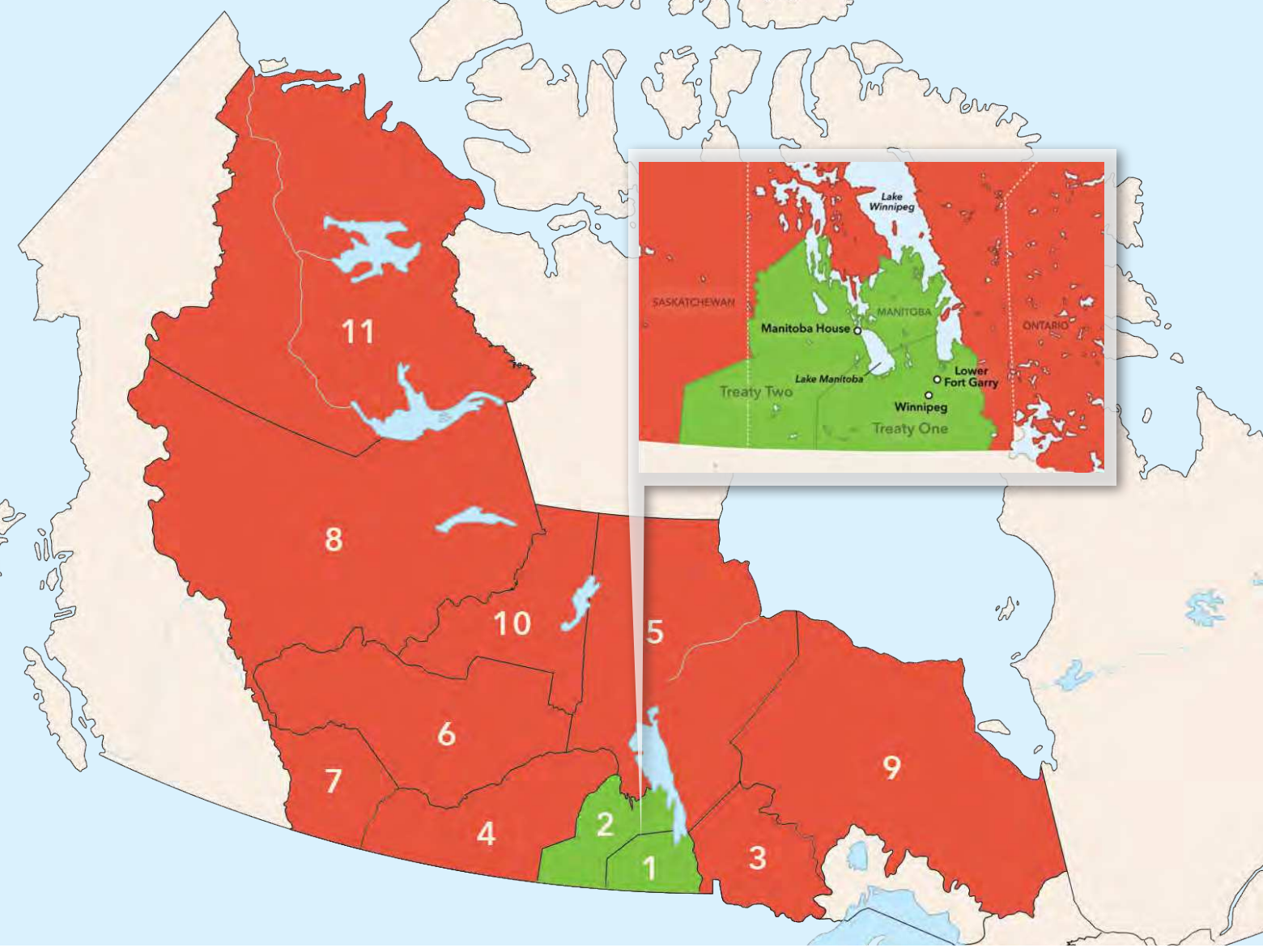
Sanitizing the story is not helpful. Searching for truth is honourable and requires an ethical historical-thinking lens and respect for the nation-to-nation relationship.

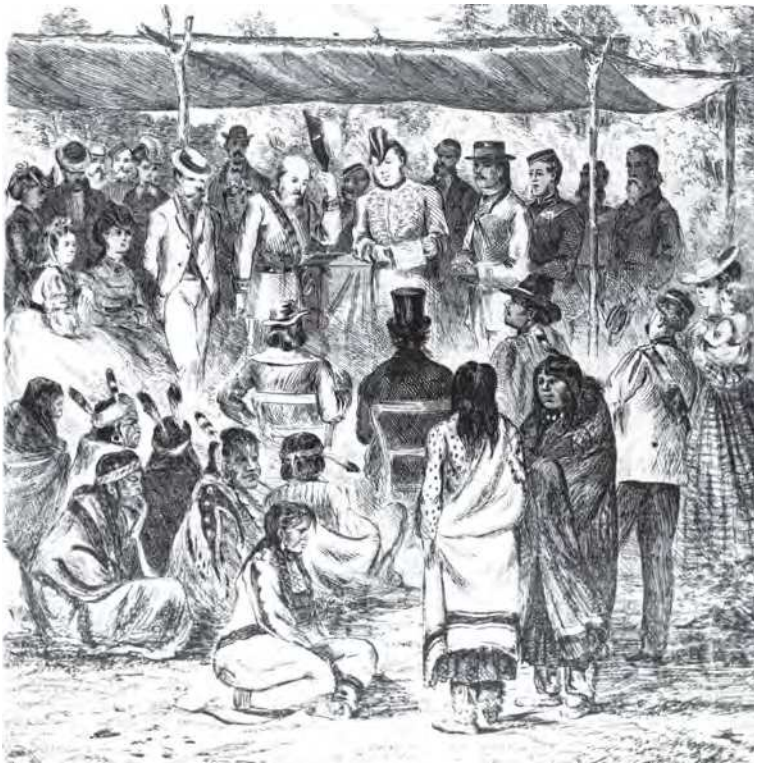
Treaty One was formalized on August 3, 1871. Treaty Two was formalized eighteen days later on August 21. However, to fully understand the Treaties, we must think about all of the talks that led up to 1871, as well as the subsequent events that have occurred up to the present day. This includes the oral tradition, the written words, and our efforts to find truth in that balance. It is about our relationship to the land and the original spirit and intent of the Treaties that included sharing the land and resources so that all peoples could enjoy its benefits. It is about seeking understanding of what has happened since the historical Treaty partners set the Treaty table and reflecting on the responsibility we each carry for upholding the Treaties. It is about reconciliation and having hope for the future.

We also need to consider the Outside Promises of Treaties One and Two — commitments that were made by Crown negotiators but that were not included in the written Treaty documents. The Outside Promises were eventually addressed in 1875 with a memorandum added to Treaties One and Two; however, they

PHOTO BY D WORKS MEDIA COURTESY OF THE WINNIPEG ARTS COUNCIL. CITY OF WINNIPEG PUBLIC ART COLLECTION.

The Winnipeg public art sculpture *Mediating the Treaties* by Rolande Souliere incorporates likenesses of Chief Miskookenew, also known as Red Eagle or Henry Prince, top right; Queen Victoria, middle left; and Chief Kakekapenais, also known as Forever Bird or William Pennefather, bottom centre.



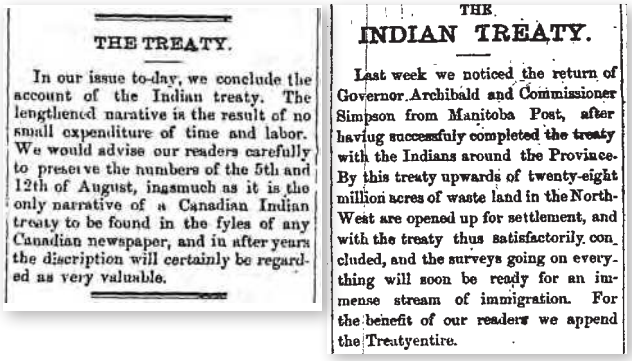


Above: The areas covered by Treaties One to Eleven. The inset shows the territories of Treaties One and Two.

Far left: Representatives of First Nations and of the British Crown engage in Treaty One negotiations at Lower Fort Garry, summer 1871.

Left, top to bottom: Crown representatives at first offered this small, simple medal to the Chiefs during Treaty One negotiations, but the Chiefs turned it down as inadequate for Treaty-making. The second medal, inscribed with the words "Indians of the North West Territories," was originally well-received, but the Chiefs rejected it when the silver plating began to wear off. Finally, the Treaty Commissioner presented the Chiefs with this pure-silver handshake medal, which was deemed acceptable to both parties.

TOP: ANDREW WORKMAN. BOTTOM LEFT: MANITOBA ARCHIVES. BOTTOM CENTRE TOP DOWN: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA/2851180/2851184/3193126



THE TREATY.

In our issue to-day, we conclude the account of the Indian treaty. The lengthened narative is the result of no small expenditure of time and labor. We would advise our readers carefully to preserve the numbers of the 5th and 12th of August, inasmuch as it is the only narrative of a Canadian Indian treaty to be found in the fyles of any Canadian newspaper, and in after years the discription will certainly be regarded as very valuable.

THE

INDIAN TREATY.

Last week we noticed the return of Governor Archibald and Commissioner Simpson from Manitoba Post, after having successfuly completed the treaty with the Indians around the Province. By this treaty upwards of twenty-eight million acres of waste land in the North-West are opened up for settlement, and with the treaty thus satisfactorily concluded, and the surveys going on everything will soon be ready for an immense stream of immigration. For the benefit of our readers we append the Treatyentire.

Above left: An August 12, 1871, article in the *Manitoban* notes the conclusion of Treaty One negotiations. Above right: A September 2, 1871, *Manitoban* article reports on the completion of Treaty Two.

were open to interpretation and did not include everything that First Nations had understood to be part of the Treaty agreements.

There are two Treaty stories, or narrative histories, that we must now strive to reconcile. One is the story told by First Nations' oral history. The second is the written story told in primary documents such as the Treaty documents themselves, along with petitions written by First Nations leaders and journals, letters, and newspaper articles written by Canadian officials and others who were present at the Treaty talks. Today we also include secondary sources such as publications by scholars and researchers to help us understand the full story of Treaties One and Two. I hope that the emerging narrative will help us to move closer to a balanced version of what transpired at the Treaty talks and to understand the subsequent implementation and honouring of the promises that were made. Sanitizing the story is not helpful. Looking for truth is honourable and requires an ethical historical-thinking lens and respect for the nation-to-nation relationship.

The need for Treaty One arose from two different sets of circumstances. By the mid-1800s, First Nations leaders in the area now encompassing Manitoba and Saskatchewan had become anxious to conclude a Treaty with immigrant settler government representatives in the region. An earlier Treaty, negotiated between First Nations people and the Scottish earl and Hudson's Bay Company shareholder Lord Selkirk, had allocated land along the Red and Assiniboine rivers in present-day Manitoba to enable the founding of a community of Scottish immigrants. The Peguis-Selkirk Treaty of 1817 was supposed to have been concluded upon Lord Selkirk's return from Britain to pay the rent to the First Nations signatories. However, Lord Selkirk died in 1820, and the Treaty rents were never paid. In the ensuing years, the growing community of immigrant settlers at the Red River Colony continually encroached on land outside of the Treaty allotment. This prompted First Nations leaders to petition the British Crown to complete the unfinished business of the 1817 Treaty.

By the 1870s, First Nations in the West were growing increasingly concerned about the colonization that was sweeping over the land, bringing with it a new way of thinking, a new way of relating to the land and life upon it, and a new way of living. The land was being altered to make room for immigrant settlement, development, and new economies. Surveys parcelled out pieces of land for individual ownership. New foreign place names replaced original place names. Permanent structures emerged, and new government buildings began to overshadow the historical forts and early trading posts. These tremendous changes exponentially impacted First Nations' ways of life and relationship to the land and all it provided. It became increasingly evident to First Nations people that a Treaty was needed in order to ensure that First Nations' ways of life were protected. Such a Treaty needed to outline how the Treaty partners were to relate to one another and share the land. First Nations diplomacy via Treaty-making had worked in the past. First Nations leaders anticipated that this process would also apply to what would become Treaties One and Two.

Meanwhile, the British Crown had an interest in further developing the Dominion of Canada, which had been created in 1867.

THE NUMBERED TREATIES

Treaty One and Treaty Two are the first of eleven numbered Treaties that represent the source of the unique nation-to-nation relationship between the Crown and the First Nations peoples living within a vast crescent of land that stretches from James Bay in the east to the Rocky Mountains in the west, from the forty-ninth parallel in the south to the Arctic Ocean in the north.

Treaty One relates to the land and peoples within an area of approximately eighteen thousand square kilometres to the south and southwest of Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba. Treaty Two covers an area of approximately eighty-seven thousand square kilometres directly to the north and west of Treaty One territory.

The oral tradition states that the Treaties were seen as reiterating peaceful alliances, securing assurances for both parties to share the wealth associated with First Nations' ancestral lands, and ensuring the respectful right for each party to retain its own way of life.

The written preamble to Treaties One and Two states that the purpose of the Treaty negotiations was "to deliberate upon certain matters of interest" to both the British Crown and the First Nations peoples. It was "the desire of Her Majesty [Queen Victoria] to open up to settlement and immigration a tract of country ... and to obtain the consent thereto of her [Indigenous] subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrangements with them so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty."

TOP: UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA DIGITAL ARCHIVES

DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE TREATIES

In her book *Breathing Life into the Stone Fort Treaty*, Indigenous lawyer Aimée Craft explains that, even during the negotiations, settlers (represented by Crown negotiators) and First Nations people (represented by their Chiefs) had fundamentally different interpretations of Treaties One and Two.

Craft explains that First Nations people understood the Treaties in the context of previous trade Treaties concluded with the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as Treaties settled amongst First Nations themselves. These Treaties did not entail giving up land or sovereignty but rather laid out agreements on how to share the land and its resources. Treaties often relied upon ties of kinship — such as marriage and adoption — to forge bonds among nations. In seeking to interpret Treaty, Craft points out that ceremony, symbolism, verbal promises, and objects such as peace pipes and wampum belts carried the same weight for the First Nations signatories as the written Treaty documents did for the Crown negotiators.

Treaties One and Two described in geographical terms the ancestral lands of each signatory First Nation and allocated a certain amount of land within each of those territories as "Indian Reserves," in the amount of 160 acres (64.7 hectares) per family of five. Yearly payments from the Crown to each family were defined. Verbal assurances were made during the Treaty negotiations that First Nations people could continue to practise traditional pursuits, including hunting and fishing, in their ancestral lands. Throughout the negotiations, the Crown negotiators referred to Queen Victoria as "the Great Mother" to the First Nations people, invoking ties of kinship and a duty of care.

Relying exclusively on the written Treaty documents, Canadian governments have interpreted the Treaties to mean that First Nations people "[did] cede, release and surrender" all of their land except the "Indian Reserves" to the Crown. Craft explains that First Nations people did not, and do not, share that interpretation. From the First Nations' perspective, the Treaties are nation-to-nation agreements laying out how to share the land and its bounty.

Concerned that the United States would attempt to annex the area that today comprises the Canadian Prairie provinces, the British and Canadian governments wanted to expedite the linking of the new Dominion in the east with the colony of British Columbia on the west coast.

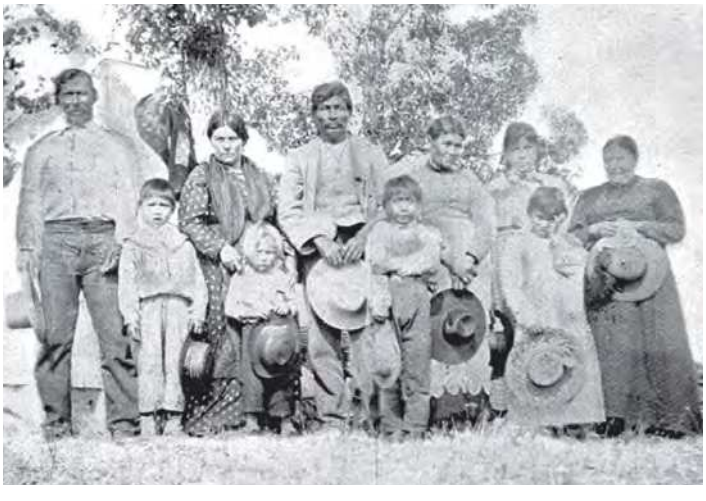
In March 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company sold the vast northwestern territory known as Rupert's Land to Canada. The sale — made without consulting the First Nations or Métis peoples of the region — sparked the Red River Resistance led by Métis leader Louis Riel that ultimately helped to create the province of Manitoba in 1870.

With the Dominion of Canada now eyeing millions of hectares of land in the west for potential settlement and development, the need for Treaties was clear: There were matters to be settled that had not been dealt with in proper negotiations with the First Nations peoples. There had been no Treaty made covering the vastness of the former Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, nor for the millions of hectares further west that were being

TOP: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA. LOWER LEFT: MANITOBA ARCHIVES. LOWER RIGHT: MANITOBA ARCHIVES

Left: Government officials pay the yearly Treaty money to First Nations people at St. Peter's, Manitoba, in 1880.

Below left to right: Chief Kakekapenais, also known as Forever Bird or William Pennefather, circa 1870s. Adams G. Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, circa 1870. Chief Miskookenew, also known as Red Eagle or Henry Prince. Wemyss M. Simpson, Indian Commissioner for Treaty One. A family portrait circa 1890s with, at centre, Chief Ke-wee-tah-quun-na-yash or He Who Flies Round the Feathers, also known as Richard Woodhouse. The Chief signed Treaty Two on behalf of the First Nations people of "Fairford [Manitoba] and the neighbouring localities."



LOWER LEFT: MANITOBA ARCHIVES. LOWER CENTRE: MANITOBA ARCHIVES. LOWER RIGHT: CROWN-INDIGENOUS RELATIONS AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS CANADA

surveyed by the federal government. The need for reconciliation was already on the horizon, as the manner in which these lands were obtained was in question.

To address these long-standing matters concerning land, several petitions from First Nations leadership had been sent to different bodies. Among those petitioned were the Aborigines Protection Society in Great Britain (1859), the *Nor'Wester* newspaper in Winnipeg (1869), and Adams Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba (1870). The First Nations leaders urgently requested advocacy for a Treaty to address the matter of immigrant settler encroachment.

It was within this buildup of circumstances that First Nations leaders and Crown representatives agreed to come together in Manitoba in July 1871 to make a Treaty. Canada provided an Order-in-Council for a Treaty commissioner, enlisted the support of representatives from the province of Manitoba, and, through royal proclamation protocol, posted notice to First Nations that Treaty talks could begin in July 1871. Once there was agreement to begin Treaty talks, the First Nations and the Crown began their preparations.

The gathering of more than a thousand First Nations people at the Stone Fort at Lower Fort Garry was a sensation for the media. First Nations people travelled from their southern, southwestern, and southeastern ancestral lands to witness the talks. The *Manitoban* newspaper, which covered the Treaty negotiations, remains a source for details that are not included in the Treaty text or in government correspondences on the Treaty talks. The daily reports provide some insight as to what both parties were proposing and how the terms of the Treaty were agreed upon. For example, on the last day of the Treaty talks, the *Manitoban* recorded Chief Henry Prince, whose father Chief Peguis had participated in the making of the Peguis-Selkirk Treaty, as saying, "The land cannot speak for itself. We have to speak for it." His words expressed the spiritual connection of First Nations peoples to the land and the responsibilities associated with that relationship. This relationship was not relinquished through Treaty.

After eight days, these talks concluded on August 3 with the Treaty One agreement outlining the solemn promises made by the two historic Treaty partners. At the same time, some Chiefs at the Stone Fort gathering made it known that they wanted to have a Treaty concluded closer to their home territories. This resulted in Treaty Two, which was signed on August 21 at the HBC trading post at Manitoba House on the west side of Lake Manitoba.

Within a year of the conclusion of the Treaties, First Nations leaders began to raise the issue of the Outside Promises. The First Nations signatories to Treaties One and Two had been verbally promised additional goods, farm implements, and livestock to be provided yearly. However, it would take until 1875, during the making of Treaty Five, for these concerns to be addressed. Additional matters remained outstanding that later came to be part of what is called a Treaty land entitlement process — a process of redress for First Nations that did not receive all the land to which they were entitled under Treaties made by the Crown. These discussions continue to the present day.

The path to 2021 has not always honoured the original Treaty intentions and promises. The immigrant settlers' version of history has been shared many times over, primarily based on the collection of written documents. It is only recently that the oral tradition has been considered a source of evidence. This has brought a more balanced perspective to the Treaty story. After many years of challenges and struggles, the Treaty-making process is now being seen through a lens of reconciliation. However, recent events concerning the discovery of unmarked graves of First Nations children who attended residential schools are challenging reconciliation efforts. This discovery is directly tied to the Crown's unilateral interpretation of First Nations' children's right to education, which was embedded in the Treaty text: "Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it."

ANDREW WORKMAN

Left: The Treaty Number One mural by Anishinaabe artist Jeannie Redeagle was unveiled on August 3 at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site.

Below left: Chief Deborah Smith of Brokenhead Ojibway Nation, left, presents a newly minted Treaty medal to Elder Florence Paynter of Sandy Bay Ojibway First Nation and Elder Chief Harry Bone of Keeseekoowenin Ojibway Nation.

Below centre: Chief Trevor Prince of Sandy Bay Ojibway First Nation, left, shakes hands with Marc Miller, federal minister of Indigenous Services.

Below right: One of the newly minted Treaty medals, which were presented to representatives of Treaty One First Nations on August 3 as a tangible reaffirmation of the Treaty relationship. Many of the original Treaty medals have been lost to history.

ANDREW WORKMAN

The impacts of the creation of the residential school system will continue into the future, as the harsh truth of the residential school experience is further exposed and as Canadians continue to grapple with the one-sided historical narrative they have been taught.

Prior to the discovery of the unmarked children's graves at residential schools across the country, including in Manitoba, there have been acts of reconciliation occurring in Treaty One territory. These include a recent revamping of how the Manitoba Museum has portrayed Indigenous peoples, as well as an invitation for Indigenous people to participate in the sharing and presentation of the story of Treaty in Manitoba. This has included ceremony, such as an annual smoking and feasting of the pipes.

At The Forks National Historic Site at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers in Winnipeg, visitors can view art installations that tell the traditional stories of the people and the land. These artworks, along with the building of a traditional lodge at Niizhozii-

COMMEMORATING THE TREATIES

The commemorative events for the anniversaries of Treaties One and Two required flexible planning this year, due to the global COVID-19 pandemic. Some events were planned locally in First Nations communities, while others were organized jointly among the historic Treaty partner representatives.

On August 3, representatives of the Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba and of the Treaty One Nation (which includes all seven First Nations signatories to Treaty One) gathered with Canadian and Manitoba government officials for a commemorative event at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Site (also known as the Stone Fort).

The event began with a pipe ceremony and a drum song, followed by a formal flag-raising ceremony. Each flag was lowered to half-mast in memory of the Indigenous children who died in residential schools. Indigenous horse riders Oyaate Techa conducted an Honour Ride.

"We are not only celebrating the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of Treaty One in 1871, we are also renewing and affirming the Treaty relationship that is a central building block of Confederation," Grand Chief Arlen Dumas of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs said in a speech during the event.

Dennis Meeches, the Chief of Long Plain First Nation, told the CBC: "The Treaty hasn't always been good to or kind to Indigenous people, as what it should have been intended when our ancestors signed this Treaty. They believed they'd have true partnership, true sovereignty. A sovereign nation within a sovereign state. All that was basically thrown out the door before the ink was even dry."

Loretta Ross, Treaty Commissioner for the Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba, presented new Treaty medals to representatives of each Treaty One First Nation.

Various Treaty Two nations planned commemoration events, each reiterating the sovereign nation-to-nation relationship that resulted in the making of Treaty Two.

Amid the commemorations, questions persist — questions such as: Why is Treaty Two not being commemorated at the same level as Treaty One? Why hasn't Manitoba House become a historical site of significance? These are legitimate inquiries. Perhaps this article will give context to some of the questions being posed. — *Wabi Benais Mistatim Equay (Cynthia Bird)*

Above: Chief Glenn Hudson of Peguis First Nation with his granddaughter Emmy Neault at the official announcement and signing over of the former Kapyong Barracks to Treaty One First Nations.

Above right: Danielle Migwans wears a jingle dress as she performs a healing dance during an Every Child Matters walk in Toronto on July 1 to honour former residential school students.

Left: Joyce Hunter, right, and Stephanie Scott, left, of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, lay down a ceremonial cloth with the names of 2,800 children who died in residential schools at the National Day for Truth and Reconciliation ceremony in Gatineau, Quebec, on September 30, 2019.

Opposite page: A limestone plinth (inset), covered in red handprints, previously supported a statue of Queen Victoria in front of the Manitoba Legislative Building in Winnipeg. Protestors toppled the statue on July 1.

TOP LEFT: WINNIPEG FREE PRESS. TOP RIGHT: THE CANADIAN PRESS/CHRIS YOUNG. LOWER: THE CANADIAN PRESS/JUSTIN TANG

bean (the south point of The Forks), are examples of reconciliation and the acknowledgement of First Nations' centuries-long spiritual connection to this location. The lodge represents a place for all to gather in the spirit of reconciliation. It is a meeting place for sharing, teachings, ceremony, celebration, and healing.

Treaty Two First Nations have also been promoting acts of reconciliation. They are making lodge teachings available, renewing Treaty relationships with non-Indigenous residents of nearby towns, and assisting others in understanding the importance of land acknowledgements.

What is important about these examples is that the dialogue is becoming more open and the narrative is becoming more balanced — especially as Canadian society begins to realize that the work needs to be collaborative, not unilateral.

Across the country, governments and Canadians in general are growing more aware that there are other ways of thinking and of doing. They are acknowledging and understanding that First Nations peoples have been part of the past, are very much present, and will continue to be here in the future. Going forward, respect for the nation-to-nation relationship and consistency in words and actions remain important foundational approaches to the Treaty relationship renewal process.

Treaties remain relevant to Canadians' shared past, present, and future. One hundred and fifty years following the making of the first of the Numbered Treaties in 1871, First Nations people continue to assert our sovereignty in the practice of the pipe ceremony and in using our original languages, customs, and traditions to honour the original spirit and intent of Treaty. First Nations continue to pursue every opportunity to connect with our ancestral lands, as evidenced in the Treaty land entitlement processes that serve to rectify the original Treaty land allocations. When this is done, it can present tremendous economic opportunities for Treaty nations, as was envisioned by the leaders who signed the 1871 Treaties. For instance, in Winnipeg Treaty One nations have worked with federal and local governments to complete the transfer of the land that once was home to the Canadian Forces' Kapyong Barracks.

First Nations' relationship to this land was formed long before the arrival of European traders and immigrant settlers. Through Treaty the land became part of Treaty One territory and was even-

tually absorbed into the city of Winnipeg. Over time it has been designated by various names: Winnipeg, River Heights, Crown land, Kapyong Barracks. In 2019, it finally reverted back to being First Nations land. It now has a new name, Naawi-Oodena, meaning "centre of the heart and community." Two thirds of the sixty-eight-hectare site have been designated as an urban reserve (also known as a First Nations economic zone) and are being redeveloped for residential, commercial, and recreational uses by the Treaty One Development Corporation. Directors of the corporation are the Chiefs of the seven First Nations that are signatories to Treaty One. It holds a bright future.

Much reconciliation work remains. It is a new path that must be understood in the context of colonization and in the spirit and intent of the historic Treaties that helped to build this country. It can be an exciting journey that will help all Canadians move closer to accepting new ways of being and knowing. Public education for all Canadians, including government leaders across jurisdictions, remains a fundamental vehicle for supporting these conversations, discussions, negotiations, and deliberations.

The commemorative events for the 150th anniversaries of Treaties One and Two provided experiential learning opportunities for all people. After all, we have all benefited from Treaty — whether we want to understand it or not — and future generations will also benefit. We are all Treaty people. We have a responsibility to understand what this means and how it translates into a personal responsibility to uphold the original spirit and intent of the Treaties.

Let us work together to realize the respectful relationship our ancestors envisioned when they sat at the Treaty table to talk about how we all can honour our relationship to the land and live in peace.

The commemoration of Treaties One and Two is about reconciling our relationship to the land we live on and all that has happened on it since 1871. It provides an opportunity to look inward to see how we have been relating to one another over the last 150 years and to ask ourselves: How can I make this better for our children and grandchildren so they can be free to be who they are and live in peace?

TOP LEFT: JAMES GILLESPIE. MAIN PHOTO: MARK COLLIN REID

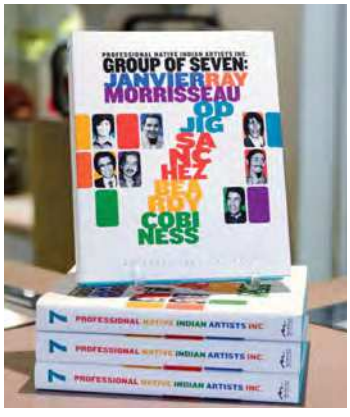
HEADWATERS OF THEIR OWN STREAM

BATTLING RACISM, DISCRIMINATION, AND EXCLUSION, SEVEN ARTISTS FORMED THE PROFESSIONAL NATIVE INDIAN ARTISTS INC. TO FIGHT FOR PROFESSIONAL RESPECT AND POLITICAL SELF-DETERMINATION.

BY MICHELLE LAVALLEE

SEVEN ARTISTS CAME TOGETHER IN THE EARLY 1970s to fight collectively for the inclusion of Indigenous art within the mainstream Canadian art world. These artists broke with identity definitions and boundaries imposed on First Nations people. They fought against double standards and exclusionary practices that treated the work of Indigenous artists as a type of handicraft, a categorization that prevented their work from being shown in mainstream galleries and museums.

By the end of 1972, this "group of seven" — Jackson Beardy, Eddy Cobiness, Alex Janvier, Norval Morrisseau, Daphne Odjig, Carl Ray, and Joseph Sanchez — constituted the first self-organized, autonomous First Nations artists' advocacy collective in Canada. Stimulating a new way of thinking about the lives and art of First Nations people, they signalled a new course for the exhibition and reception of contemporary Indigenous art.



My own interest in the group, formally incorporated as the Professional Native Indian Artists Inc. (PNIAI), began many years ago and eventually culminated in a book project and a major exhibition in September 2013 during my time as curator at the MacKenzie Art Gallery in Regina. I felt both obligated and empowered to make room for those who had been left out of the mainstream art world, and to honour those who had come before me — artists whose commitment, efforts, and sacrifices had opened doors for me as an Indigenous curator, artist, and arts administrator and whose combined efforts were responsible in many ways for many of the positions I have held.

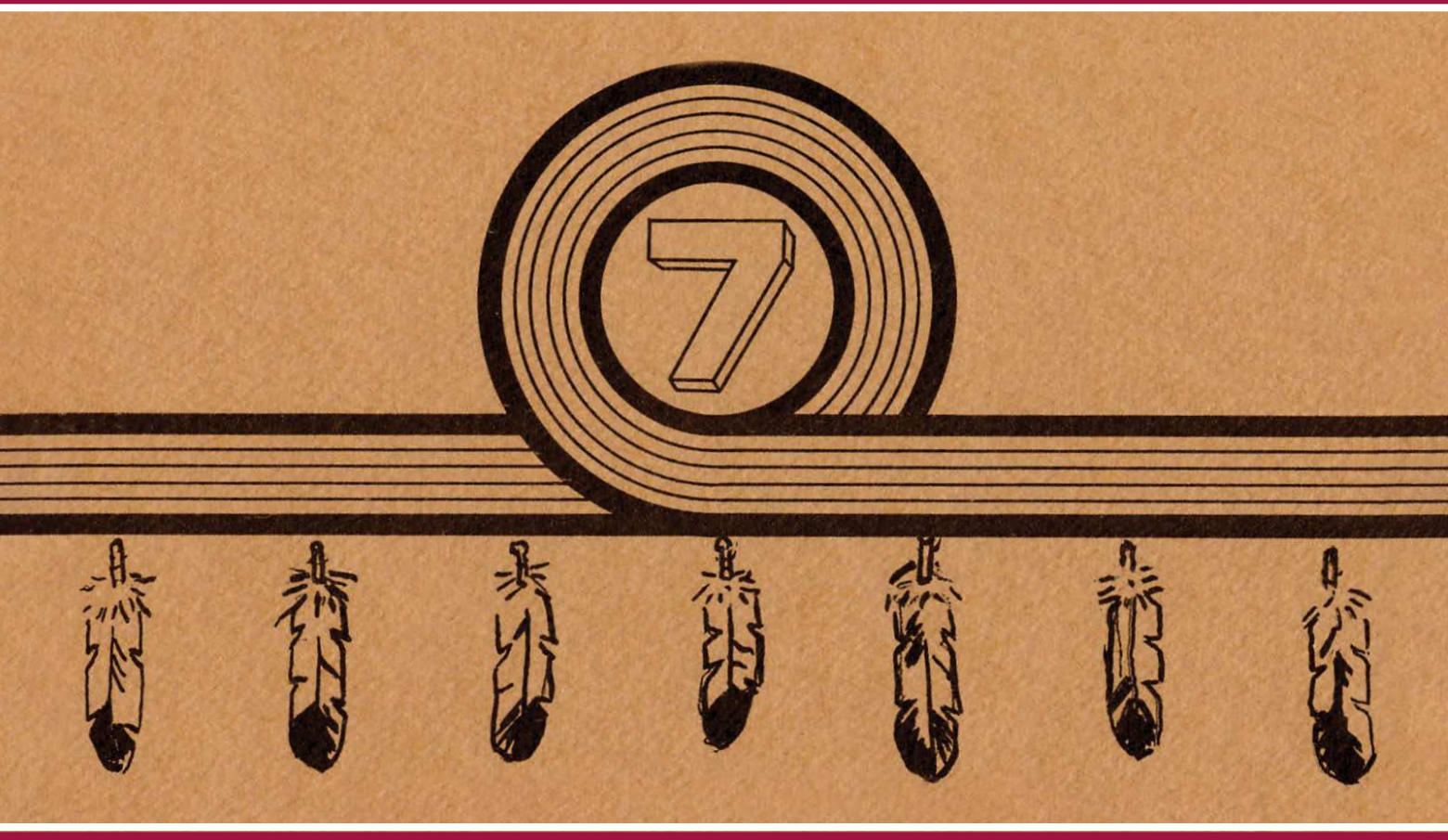
I had recently given birth to my daughter; around the gallery, the joke was that the exhibition had a second curator, because my daughter spent so much time in my arms or on my lap as we put the final touches on the installation and then while finalizing the publication of the book. The image of Alex Janvier holding my daughter and sharing his memories as we walked through the exhibition with his wife, Jacqueline Janvier, and fellow group member Joseph Sanchez is deeply etched in my mind. Intergenerational sharing was a central motivation for the exhibition and the book. My desire was to share the story of the group, a history that began before my birth, so that those yet to be born (or just born!) would know its history and understand its significance for generations to come.

As one of Canada's most important artist alliances, the PNIAI made history by demanding that its members be recognized as professional contemporary artists.

Historically, mainstream social, political, and cultural practices

Above: The book *7: Professional Native Indian Artists Inc.* on display at Regina's MacKenzie Art Gallery. Opposite page, top row, left to right: Alex Janvier in 1975, Daphne Odjig in 1975, Norval Morrisseau in 1975. Opposite page, centre: Invitation to the Professional Native Indian Artists Inc. exhibition at the Art Emporium in Vancouver, October 1975. Opposite page, bottom row, left to right: Carl Ray, Joseph Sanchez in 1975, Eddy Cobiness in 1975, Jackson Beardy in 1975.

BEAVER COVER: DON HALL, COURTESY OF THE MACKENZIE ART GALLERY; THIS PAGE: MACKENZIE ART GALLERY. OPPOSITE PAGE, TOP ROW, ALL THREE PHOTOS: NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES, DOMINION GALLERY FONDS. CENTRE: COURTESY JOSEPH SANCHEZ AND THE MACKENZIE ART GALLERY. BOTTOM ROW, LEFT TO RIGHT: FIRST THREE PHOTOS: INDIGENOUS ART CENTRE, CROWN-INDIGENOUS RELATIONS AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS CANADA. LAST PHOTO ON THE RIGHT: NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES, DOMINION GALLERY FONDS.



FRAMING

have supported the exclusion, marginalization, and misappropriation of Indigenous art. The convergence of events that led to the formation of the PNIAI arose from a resurgence of Indigenous political activism and cultural revival in the late 1960s. Constantly belittled, Indigenous people were faced with two options — to accept an inferior position in society or to speak out and stand up against oppressive conditions and imposed definitions.

A cultural and political breakthrough came with Expo 67, an international exhibition in Montreal that became the highlight of Canada's 1967 centennial celebrations. This event allowed Indigenous artists to assert their own cultural identity within Canadian nationalism. The forces of change cropping up in the gatherings were an early indication of what could be possible when artists with common experiences and interests came together and worked towards a common goal. Looking back, trailblazing curator Tom Hill, the first Indigenous art curator in Canada, explained to me that Expo 67 "brought a sense of power to the artists, [as it] enabled Indigenous artists from all over Canada to meet for the first time and discuss their shared difficulties and interests." The event forged a sense of common purpose among the participating artists, organizers, and activists from across Canada and demonstrated how their art could be used to communicate their ideas. This ripple of activity was a sign of things to come, including the formation of the PNIAI.

Artist Daphne Odjig stands beside an easel displaying one of her works.

Recent history and events remind us that there is an intimate connection between Indigenous art and politics. Understanding how forces within Canadian society controlled the lives of First Nations people is key to appreciating the barriers these artists faced. In the 1960s, colonial attitudes of racial superiority still prevailed: First Nations people continued to be subjected to systemic anti-Native racism, informal segregation, and various governmental assimilation policies. This was understood all too well by members of the PNIAI. Beyond trying to increase the market and respect for their work, these artists were engaged in a broader political struggle, as they were directly affected by many of the cultural conventions and political policies that relegated First Nations people to secondary status in Canadian society and strictly regulated all aspects of their lives.

The group's life experiences were inextricably tied to the then-named Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and to the *Indian Act*, whose policies affect the daily lives of people living under its jurisdiction. While all the members of the PNIAI experienced the heavy hand of DIAND, one of Janvier's accounts offers a particularly vivid example of the trials they faced.

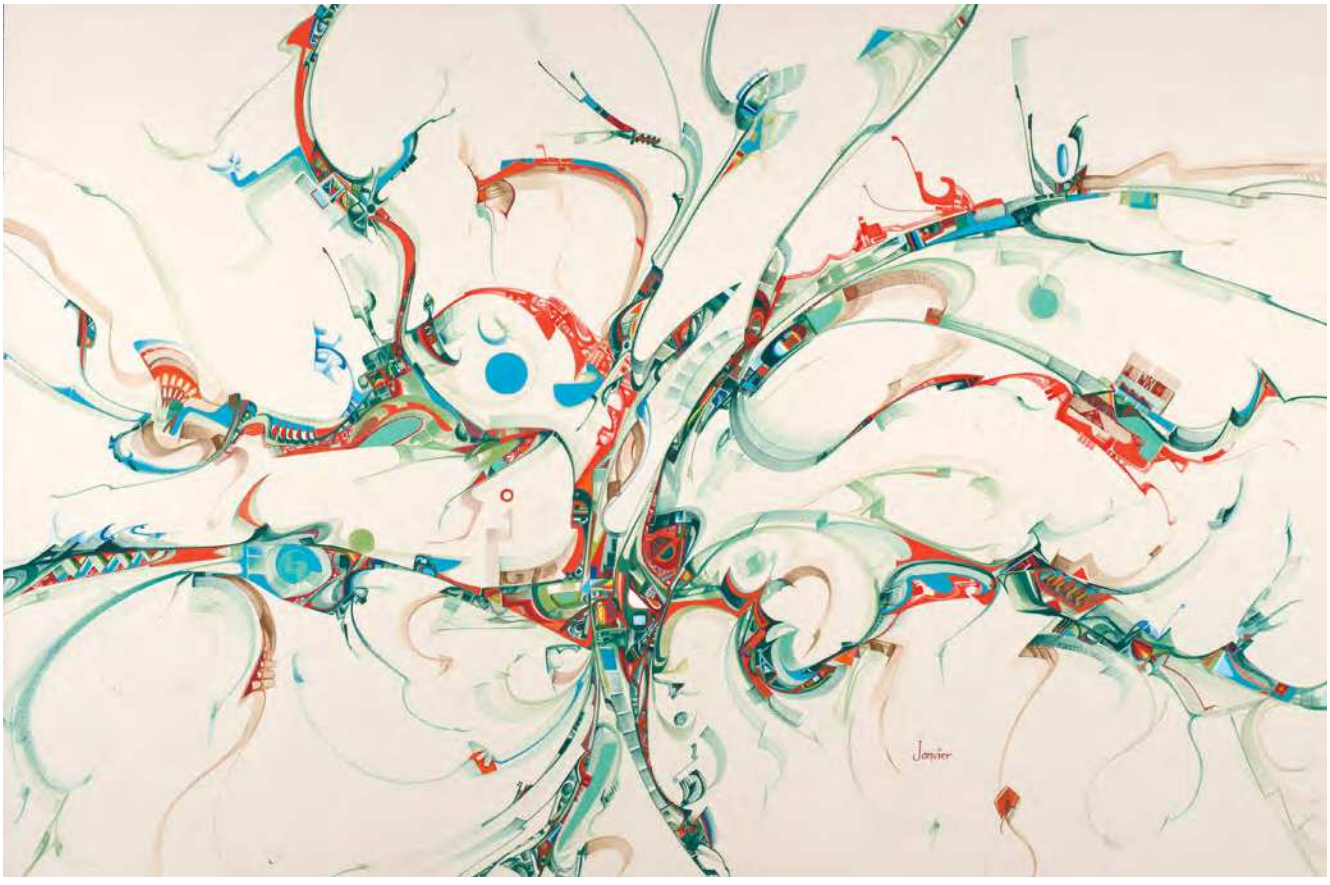
His story begins on the Cold Lake reserve in Alberta, which he could not leave without the permission of a government "Indian agent." As a regulatory regime, the permit system was used by agents to strictly monitor and control the affairs of First Nations people, and Janvier's arts education in the late 1950s is directly tied to this history. In our conversations, he has often talked about the time period when he was obliged to carry a written permit on his person in order to leave the reserve. Permits, though, were not always approved. When he was accepted to the Ontario College of Art in Toronto, he was told by the agent: "I don't think you can make it…. That's too difficult for you." Instead, the agent only permitted him to go as far as Calgary. Even then, Janvier stated, "A few times I was contested by policemen. Any 'upright citizen' or churchman could demand [to see the pass] because I was in the 'wrong place.' I'm downtown. I had to prove the right to be there and to go to art school."

Despite being top of his class in Calgary, Janvier felt that "the world wasn't ready for me…. It was a problem because I wasn't supposed to be there." He believed in what he was doing but felt pushed away. "I began to feel the strength of racism — the power that [tried to keep me] from getting across to the other side…. I earned the right to get across … but the society I entered into was not ready for anything like that."

The repressive social, political, and cultural contexts in Canada at that time provoked a strong resistance among artists and activists alike. There was an unyielding desire among Indigenous people to have their voices heard and to ensure a continuation of their cultural practices. The impact of this growing social and cultural movement is evident in the work of the PNIAI. Celebrations of culture and identity, as well as tools for education and renewal, the works of these master artists provide a glimpse of struggles overcome, gates broken open, and a legacy that has gone under-recognized. Their work is also a testament to the ongoing relevance and strength of Indigenous peoples, their ideologies, and their cultures.

Though their personal aspirations were diverse, the members of the PNIAI became front-runners in the development of contemporary Indigenous art through the collective vision of the group. From their initial meetings in 1971 until their dissolution as a legal entity in 1979, the avant-gardism and stimulative newness of the images and styles these seven artists produced are significant. Their collective artistic impact, as well as their distinctive approaches and experimentation in expressing their experiences and cultures, remain a key source of inspiration for many. As a cultural and political entity, the PNIAI ignited a renaissance that gave subsequent Indigenous artists, arts advocacy organizations, and collectives energy and momentum that continue today. It is important, however, to acknowledge that in addition to the seven members of the PNIAI there were many artists producing work and contributing to a nationwide Indigenous reawakening. The

INDIGENOUS ART CENTRE, CROWN-INDIGENOUS RELATIONS AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS CANADA



Above: Alex Janvier's 1978 painting *Exodus from the Soil*.

Left: Alex Janvier, right, speaks with curator Tom Hill circa 1973.

decolonizing spirit that took hold through art as a first line of cultural and political defence is one that continues through to the present and has been described by art historian Carmen Robertson as a "Red Renaissance."

In the years following Expo 67, the PNIAI was among the first organizations to fight to establish a forum for the voices and perspectives of Indigenous artists; it was the first self-organized artists' alliance to push for recognition of contemporary Indigenous art. However, the origins of this artists' alliance grew out of grassroots efforts to meet the needs of Indigenous artists who had converged in one city — Winnipeg — in the late 1960s.

A common experience among members of the PNIAI, and for many other Indigenous artists, was the encounter with double standards. Artists were dismissed, told their work was either too "Native" or not "Native enough." Signs of modernity in their work were rejected as incompatible or incongruent with society's ingrained stereotypes of First Nations people and their art. In my conversations with her before her death in 2016, Daphne Odjig recalled once seeing a notice by an art gallery in a Winnipeg newspaper that said, "We accept all new artists." Living further north at the time, she brought some work down to Winnipeg; however, the gallery owner, despite seeming enthused at first, was very cold with her. Odjig told me: "That's when I decided: Well, they don't want to take our work. I'm going to open up my own gallery. So, I opened my own shop. I said: They'll have to come to me. I'll never approach another gallery." And she never did.

In 1970, Odjig and her husband, Chester Beavon, established Odjig Indian Prints of Canada Ltd. They opened a small craft store under the same name at 331 Donald Street in Winnipeg the following year. A few years later, they established the New Warehouse Gallery in the back of the store. "Odjig's," as it was commonly known, became a gathering place for artists who had been working in isolation from each other, not only in Winnipeg but as far afield as Ottawa and Toronto. Whether you were coming from the east or coming from the west, Odjig's became the place to engage with other artists. The conversations generated at Odjig's during that initial year led to the first tentative steps towards forming an organization. Janvier confirmed that it was a "vision that started under the tutelage of Daphne Odjig." The connections between artists were further developed at informal gatherings in Winnipeg and eventually led to a concerted effort

TOP: DON HALL, COURTESY OF THE MACKENZIE ART GALLERY. LOWER: INDIGENOUS ART CENTRE, CROWN-INDIGENOUS RELATIONS AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS CANADA

to form a unified professional group. Meetings usually took place at Daphne Odjig's house, at the Northstar Inn in Winnipeg, or at Odjig's, where artists shared their frustrations with the Canadian art establishment, grappled with prejudice, discussed aesthetics, and critiqued one another's art.

Reminiscing about the early history of the group, Odjig recalled that she and Jackson Beardy "had many discussions [about forming a group] before it all started." About six months after her shop opened, she got in touch with Eddy Cobiness through the National Indian Brotherhood, for which he had been producing illustrations and portraits. He would often stop by the gallery to discuss mutual concerns. In an effort to expand the discussions, a decision was made to contact other artists and to invite them to form a group. They contacted Norval Morrisseau through his art agent, and in the years to follow Odjig and her husband met with Carl Ray on a social basis a number of times. As for Alex Janvier, Odjig told me, "he was a bit of a biggie in Calgary. So that was a little intimidating for us. But after we met him, he said, 'We'll all meet down at your [craft shop]. We'll meet together and make some plans.'" In her assessment, they came together out of a common need, "because they, too, felt a little isolated."

Daphne Odjig's 1975 painting *So Great Was Their Love*.

At this stage they were a group of six. Several members recall that it was Ray who was the first to joke about becoming a group of seven, like the famous Canadian Group of Seven landscape painters of the 1920s and 1930s. The seventh member was, some might have said, an unlikely choice. Joseph Sanchez, a U.S. citizen of Pueblo, Spanish, and German descent, had served in the United States Marine Corps before moving to Canada in 1969. He first met Odjig in the fall of 1971, when he came into the store with a handful of drawings one day. A few weeks later, he dropped by during a meeting of the six artists. He was invited to join the group.

In one of my initial conversations with him, Sanchez recalled: "They welcomed me…. They could have said, well, he's an American. He can't be a part of this group. But that didn't seem to matter to Daphne, or Alex, or Carl, or any of the group." When I asked Alex Janvier about it, he reasoned that the Canada-U.S. border "was not set by us," a sentiment shared by many Indigenous people. Despite spending the better part of an afternoon trying to come up with different ideas or concepts for a group name, the Group of Seven nickname stuck once the seventh member was invited to stay. Odjig concluded, "And that's where it all started…. We didn't even plan on it being seven, it just happened that way."

Accounts vary, but what is clear is that by 1972 a group of seven had formed. By 1973, thoughts of incorporation had begun to circulate and to be debated among the members. Encouraged to legalize their status and formalize their association, they believed incorporation might enable them to secure funding to aid in the realization of the group's objectives, particularly as they related to exhibitions, marketing, and education. An application to officially incorporate as the Professional Native Indian Artists Incorporated was prepared in February 1974; however, the group was not legally incorporated until April 1, 1975.

There has been much informal debate as to whether the group was open to other artists at its inception or whether admittance was by invitation only. Certainly, there were many artists who came through Odjig's gallery, or who exhibited with the members of the PNIAI in various venues, both during and after the group's active life. These artists include, but are not limited to, Bill Reid, Roy Thomas, Clemence Wescoupe, Sam Ash, Josh Kakegamic, Don LaForte, Gerald Tailfeathers, Francis Kagige, Allen Sapp, and Benjamin Chee Chee. Some who might have had the opportunity to join, such as Bill Reid, were actively dissuaded by various external parties. Janvier met and worked with Reid during Expo 67 and again in the mid-1970s on the board of the National Indian Arts Council, an organization formed by the National Indian Arts and Crafts Corporation and funded by DIAND in an effort to mobilize the arts at the national level. Janvier often acknowledges Reid as an honorary member of the group, although he never formally joined it. According to Janvier, Reid was particularly helpful in dealing with the media.

The group's struggle for mainstream acceptance was a constant battle that pitted the artists against government programs, a non-Indigenous public's expectations, and government-supported institutions wanting art that reflected "Indianness" in style and content. More often than not, their work was relegated to commercial and ethno-galleries, cultural centres, museums, hallways, and offices, rather than being shown in the fine art galleries where they believed it belonged. In addition to the prevailing attitudes about First Nations art, it did not help that there were few to no employment opportunities for Indigenous curators who could engage in Indigenous ways of knowing and bridge world views in the presentation of Indigenous art.

Self-determination and self-definition were motivations at the heart of the group. The members were interested in the question of "Indian art" but defined it for themselves. Members were interested in expanding their horizons as artists, rather than succumbing to pre-packaged, narrow definitions and double standards around authenticity. In turn, they encouraged younger artists to create their own contemporary expressions as individuals. "Every artist paints from their own cultural heritage and their

DON HALL, COURTESY OF THE MACKENZIE ART GALLERY

'I felt degraded'

Beardy shut out of own show

Above: Jackson Beardy's 1973 painting *Flock*.

Far left: A Canadian Press article published January 30, 1970, reported on Jackson Beardy being refused admission to his own art exhibition at the National Arts Centre in Ottawa.

Left: Jackson Beardy strums a guitar.

Below left: Joseph Sanchez's coloured-pencil-and-ink drawing *Ann's Family Portrait*.

Below right: Eddy Cobiness holds one of his paintings.

TOP: INDIGENOUS ART CENTRE, CROWN-INDIGENOUS RELATIONS AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS CANADA. CENTRE LEFT: UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA ARCHIVES & SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, WINNIPEG TRIBUNE FONDS, A 81-12. CENTRE RIGHT: INDIGENOUS ART CENTRE, CROWN-INDIGENOUS RELATIONS AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS CANADA. BOTTOM LEFT: DON HALL COLLECTION, COURTESY OF THE MACKENZIE ART GALLERY. BOTTOM RIGHT: INDIGENOUS ART CENTRE, CROWN-INDIGENOUS RELATIONS AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS CANADA

Above: A worker, bottom right, installs Norval Morrisseau's painting *Androgyny* in the ballroom at Rideau Hall in Ottawa on September 18, 2008.

Left: Norval Morrisseau holds a paintbrush while standing in front of one of his paintings.

own experience," Odjig asserted. "Whatever your heritage, it will come out in your brush. My counsel to young artists is to stop worrying about authenticity. It is within you."

Seeking to control their creative processes, the members of the PNIAI did not allow others to determine the validity of their connections to their heritage. Each artist was encouraged to follow his or her own path. The practices of the senior members — Janvier, Morrisseau, Odjig, and Cobiness — that had begun in the 1950s and 1960s complemented those of the younger members, whose work also reflected non-Western inspirations. Although they had differing opinions, roles, priorities, and responsibilities, the members stood together. This unity gave them unprecedented strength and support, as Sanchez explained to me: "We understood the value of standing together as artists. I believe it was the power of Daphne, Norval, and Alex's work that forced galleries and museums to accept the work of the other members. This was the strategy. The strength of the group allowed me to exhibit in places I could only dream of being included."

The "you take one, you take all" motto described by Sanchez proved to be something that enabled the less-established members to gain ground. In speaking with Janvier, he recalled saying on occasion: "If the group doesn't show, I don't show." Solidarity was all-important, as Janvier explained: "We weren't taken too seriously by the media. And I think we were also slated to fail. We were given enough rope to hang ourselves. But they didn't realize there were seven ropes, and so it was a longer hanging level," he laughed. "So, there was some good luck that came our way by being 'the group' in that we weren't hammered individually. It's harder to hammer a group of people. You know, you're a force. Your little army's small, but you're a little army."

Interacting with others who shared similar experiences and cultural backgrounds was both stimulating and advantageous for the PNIAI members. The camaraderie and friendship that developed helped them to navigate territory that had been difficult to traverse on their own. Where one voice could sometimes be overlooked, the combined voices of several artists created a richly diverse and powerful statement. Working together gave them a strength and unity that caught the attention of the media and brought a contemporary image of First Nations art to the forefront.

In August 1972, curator Jacqueline Fry featured Beardy, Janvier, and Odjig in a three-person exhibition at the Winnipeg Art Gallery entitled *Treaty Numbers 23, 287, 1171: Three Indian Painters of the Prairies*. It was the first exclusively contemporary First Nations

TOP: THE CANADIAN PRESS/ADRIAN WYLD. LOWER: THE GLOBE AND MAIL INC.

art exhibition to be held in a public art gallery in Canada, and among the first exhibitions held in the gallery's new building. This exhibition lent institutional credibility to their practice and gave a boost to their public profile that was soon reinforced. In June 1974 the Royal Ontario Museum hosted *Canadian Indian Art '74*, which included all seven PNIAI artists. In our discussion about its development, exhibition curator Tom Hill recalled that "none of the major galleries were even looking seriously at First Nations art," and he remembered encountering extreme ignorance and having to fight vigorously and defend the validity of an Indigenous exhibition. These two exhibitions were the first serious curatorial treatments of works by Indigenous artists as contemporary artists.

Following a year of organizational activity, in June 1974 the PNIAI announced plans for its first exhibition. An article in the *Winnipeg Free Press* featured a photograph of Cobiness presenting a drawing to Mayor Stephen Juba "as a centennial gift to Winnipeg from the Professional Native Indian Artists' association." In the months to come, Odjig expanded her Winnipeg print shop, establishing the New Warehouse Gallery in the back. Inaugural exhibition invitations were printed and dispersed, and an article in the *Winnipeg Free Press* reported on the December 8, 1974, opening, noting that "about 200 paintings, prints and drawings" featuring work by "'a group of seven,' an association of Indian artists" was on display. Although momentum was growing, the group was still seeking critical recognition as contemporary artists within the Canadian art establishment.

A major turning point came after Max Stern, an art dealer and the owner of the Dominion Gallery in Montreal, gave the group an exhibition. An advisor to the group, John Dennehy, had gone to Stern on the members' behalf to pass on a message. As Janvier tells it, "I said: Tell the man that he brings art from all over the world. That he missed something in Canada. That he always brings something new from somewhere else, from outside.… Tell him that this time he's going to bring something new from inside Canada."

Max Stern scheduled his first exhibition of "Canadian Indian" art by the Professional Native Indian Artists Inc. in the spring of 1975. *Fierté sur toile: Tableaux par sept artistes indiens canadiens* (usually translated as *Colours of Pride: Paintings by Seven Professional Native Artists*) opened March 11 at the Dominion Gallery. The PNIAI's next exhibit, held in Ottawa in June 1975 at Wallack Galleries, was followed by another in October at the Art Emporium in Vancouver. These three exhibitions are often acknowledged as the last exhibitions by the PNIAI that featured solely the seven members. However, as late as 1987 members of the PNIAI, in varying configurations, continued to exhibit alongside other artists in several exhibitions, often in the context of, or with an affiliation noted to, the PNIAI name. Notable among these was *Canadian Contemporary Native Arts: A Los Angeles Celebration*, an exhibition curated by Tom Hill that ran from February 17 to April 26, 1987, at the Institute for the Study of the American West in Los Angeles.

In the end, despite their best efforts to remain a unified cohort, members found it too arduous to coordinate exhibitions and to raise funds without external support and additional expertise. The cohesiveness of the group was difficult to maintain as the artists began to work with different galleries and art dealers. Among the factors contributing to the group's dissolution was Odjig's decision to sell her shop and gallery and move to British Columbia in 1976. Without a central meeting point, the PNIAI members began to lose touch with one another as they became more involved with individual projects. Ray's tragic death in September 1978 led to the further disintegration of the group. While there is no record of a surrender of the organization's charter, according to Corporations Canada files the PNIAI corporation was officially dissolved on April 27, 1979.

Reflecting on the PNIAI's part in history, in her essay "First Nations Activism Through the Arts" for the Banff Centre Press publication *Questions of Community: Artists, Audiences, Coalitions,* curator Lee-Ann Martin observed: "This group incorporated two of the most important features of organizations that would follow — providing support to individuals and lobbying for Indigenous artists as a whole."

With an emphasis on professional accreditation and exhibiting and marketing their work, their interests and artistic aspirations were national and international in scope. Their intent was to cast a wide net and to mentor and support young Indigenous artists across Canada. As a result, Indigenous people began to recognize their art as a vital expression of an Indigeneity that embraces the notion that form and content are shaped by individual experience, which includes our shared colonial, North American, and European influences.

Curator Jacqueline Fry also recognized the significance of the complex position adopted by individual PNIAI members at an early point. In her 1972 exhibition publication she wrote that the works by these artists "are important, not only because they

THE ARTISTS

Jackson Beardy (1944–84) was born on the Garden Hill Reserve in the Island Lake region of Manitoba and was of Cree ancestry.

Eddy Cobiness (1933–96) was born in Warroad, Minnesota, and raised on Buffalo Point Reserve, Manitoba. He was Ojibway.

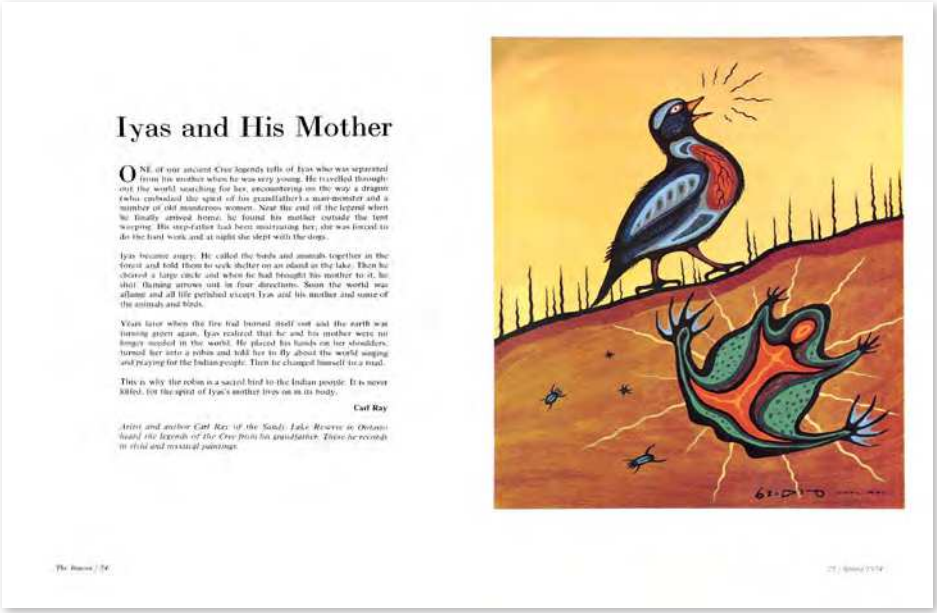
Alex Janvier (born 1935) was born at Cold Lake First Nations, Alberta, and is of Dene Suline and Saulteaux heritage.

Norval Morrisseau (1932–2007) was raised on the Sand Point Reserve near Lake Nipigon, Ontario, and was of Ojibwa descent.

Daphne Odjig (1919-2016) was born on Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island, Ontario, and was of Potawatomi and Odawa heritage.

Carl Ray (1943–78) was born on the Sandy Lake Reserve in Ontario and was of Cree heritage.

Joseph Sanchez (born 1948) was born in Trinidad, Colorado. He is an artist and curator of Spanish, German, and Pueblo descent.



Iyas and His Mother

ONE of our ancient Cree legends tells of Iyas who was separated from his mother when he was very young. He travelled throughout the world searching for her, encountering on the way a dragon (who embodied the spirit of his grandfather), a man-monster and a number of old murderous women. Near the end of the legend when he finally arrived home, he found his mother outside the tent weeping. His step-father had been mistreating her; she was forced to do the hard work and at night she slept with the dogs.

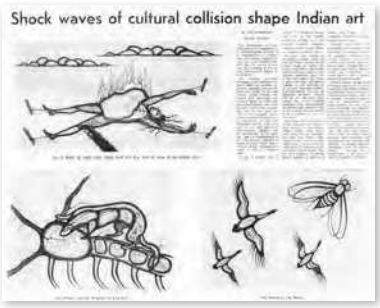
Iyas became angry. He called the birds and animals together in the forest and told them to seek shelter on an island in the lake. Then he chanted a large circle and when he had brought his mother to it, he shot flaming arrows out in four directions. Soon the world was aflame and all life perished except Iyas and his mother and some of the animals and birds.

Years later when the fire had burned itself out and the earth was turning green again, Iyas realized that he and his mother were no longer needed in the world. He placed his hands on her shoulders, turned her into a robin and told her to fly about the world singing and praying for the Indian people. Then he changed himself to a mud.

This is why the robin is a sacred bird to the Indian people. It is never killed, for the spirit of Iyas's mother lives on in its body.

Carl Ray

Artist and author Carl Ray, of the Sandy Lake Reserve in Ontario, based the legends of the Cree from his grandfather. There he records in vivid and mystical paintings.



Shock waves of cultural collision shape Indian art

Left: An article in the Spring 1974 issue of *The Beaver* shows Carl Ray's painting *Iyas and His Mother*.

Above: A May 20, 1972, article in the *Winnipeg Tribune* shows Carl Ray's *Fire of Death, The Weasel and the Windigo,* and *The Return of the Ducks*.

demonstrate the permanence of traditional [First Nations] culture but also because they reveal the presence of living, creative sources that, firmly rooted in the multi-cultured world of today, open the way to a more understanding world tomorrow."

Building on the momentum of the PNIAI, the first National Conference on Aboriginal Art was held in 1978 on Manitoulin Island, Ontario, with Odjig and Janvier in attendance. Subsequent conferences followed across Canada in 1979 and 1983, resulting in the establishment of a national Native arts organization, the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA) in 1985. Subsequent SCANA conferences followed in 1987 and 1993.

Reflecting on the PNIAI's contribution to this history, artist Robert Houle noted: "They gave us a profile. I think for me, that's what they established.… I had absolutely no idea what contemporary Native art was … [but then] they came along.… And all of a sudden, you had something.… I think in many ways they probably started the ball rolling [towards] SCANA." Continuing the dialogue initiated by the PNIAI, artists at these early SCANA meetings criticized the pervasive ethnological and anthropological views of contemporary Indigenous art and artists and confronted the exclusion of Indigenous arts within mainstream institutions including the Art Gallery of Ontario, the Vancouver Art Gallery, and the National Gallery of Canada. Recognizing the need for professional-development opportunities, they fought for increased access to these institutions for Indigenous curators whose cultural knowledge and experiences would transform Eurocentric theory and museum practices, enhance understanding, and contextualize contemporary Indigenous art from Indigenous perspectives.

While short-lived, the significance of the PNIAI in the history of Canadian art cannot be underestimated. The forward thinking of these pivotal artists has had an undeniable cultural and political impact. Even as PNIAI members focused on advancing their own careers as artists, they never lost sight of their larger political goal of raising the profile of Indigenous peoples. They functioned as part of a larger movement that challenged outdated racial stereotypes and forced a recognition of Indigenous artists as a vital part of Canada's past, present, and future identity.

Reaching across cultural boundaries, their art caused excitement on the Canadian contemporary art scene. By fearlessly portraying the reality of Canada from a First Nations perspective, and by sharing the Indigenous world views and distinct aesthetics that permeate their work, they expanded the vocabulary of contemporary visual art and set a new standard for the artists who followed in their wake. Their story is a significant part of contemporary art history in Canada, one in which the foundation for a thriving professional Indigenous arts community was laid and the work of Indigenous artists and curators was subsequently propelled to national and international prominence today.

I have been a witness to the spirit that pours out of the artworks of the PNIAI members and into the hearts of so many. I am humbled and proud to have been in a position to honour this group and to share a glimpse of their story — a glimpse of a vision that flourished despite the struggles these artists faced within the context of mainstream Canadian society. The contributions of these artists to the history of First Nations aesthetic production and to the history of art on Turtle Island is of national importance. It is my hope that an intergenerational and cross-cultural audience will continue to benefit from learning about these artists' and other Indigenous people's experiences and histories.

The desire for self-determination and positive change that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s was a response to conditions that, sadly, are little altered today. After decades of denial regarding the deplorable experiences, conditions, and oppression faced by many Indigenous communities, intercultural relations continue to be informed by discriminatory beliefs and behaviours targeted at Indigenous cultures. This significantly affects the experiences of many individuals and communities, both personally and professionally.

However, as Indigenous and non-Indigenous people reside

TOP LEFT: THE BEAVER, SPRING 1974. TOP RIGHT: UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA ARCHIVES & SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, WINNIPEG TRIBUNE FONDS, A.81-12

Above left: Works by Norval Morrisseau, Carl Ray, and Joseph Sanchez in the *7: Professional Native Indian Artists Inc.* exhibition at the MacKenzie Art Gallery.

Above right: Alex Janvier, left, stands beside author Michelle LaVallee, with Joseph Sanchez and Jacqueline Janvier, at the *7: Professional Native Indian Artists Inc.* exhibition in 2013.

Right: Daphne Odjig is congratulated on her Governor General's Award in Visual and Media Arts by Governor General Michaëlle Jean on March 23, 2007.

together in these territories, we are witnessing a new level of mindfulness. A deeper understanding of our shared and complex histories can help folks see connections to First Nations, Inuit, and Métis histories in their everyday lives. In turn, this informs our understanding and our actions and carries over into areas of our professional and private lives. We move forward by knowing where we come from and by making individual commitments to contribute to a more positive future for current and future generations, in whatever way we can.

A final thought from the insights of Alex Janvier, who shared these words with a full house while looking at the artworks by PNIAI members hanging together at the September 21, 2013, opening night of the *7: Professional Native Indian Artists Inc.* exhibition at the MacKenzie Art Gallery in Regina:

"What you see here is … a true story, and that's how it began, and ever since then we haven't stopped. Members of this group, some of them have gone on to their graves, but you'll see their work, they will talk to you with their art. Our story is really a Canadian story, a real Canadian story. It comes from here, by the people from here, and it's about here. I welcome all of you to take a good look and be proud. I've travelled around the world quite a bit … but when you come back to Canada, you almost want to kiss the earth that you come from because it's so good to come home. This art here … I hope will give you the same feeling, that every one of you has come home."

ARTISTS AND ALLIES

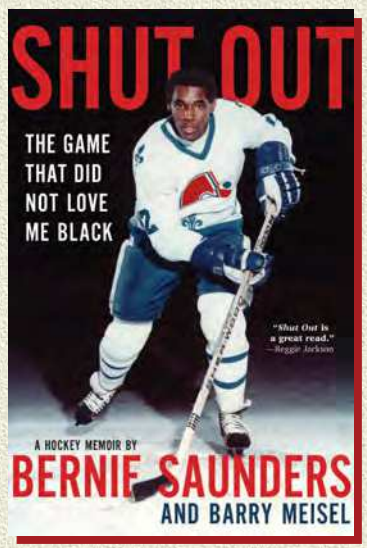
As the Professional Native Indian Artists Inc. sought recognition and inclusion by mainstream institutions through the late 1970s and 1980s, it was critical for the artists to work hand in hand with receptive non-Indigenous curators and other individuals who were in positions to assist this aim. Jacqueline Fry, Elizabeth McLuhan, Audrey Hawthorn, Carol Phillips, and Carol Podedworny were among these early allies. Fortunately, there were also some individuals — private collectors, commercial dealers, and other artists — acting in tandem with the group, or on its behalf, who offered support to Indigenous artists in various capacities, including Herbert T. Schwarz, Robert Fox, John Kurtz, Helen E. Band, Bernhard Cinader, Phillip Gevik, Len Anthony, and Bill Lobchuk of Winnipeg's Grand Western Canadian Screen Shop. Beginning to fight their way into the bastions of the Canadian contemporary art world, early Indigenous curatorial leaders included Tom Hill, Robert Houle, Gerald McMaster, Doreen Jensen, Lee-Ann Martin, Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Bob Boyer, Viviane Gray, and Gloria Cranmer; but they were often met with resistance and faced many challenges. Ultimately, the careers of Indigenous artists were primarily in the hands of non-Indigenous people who did not necessarily have their best interests at heart. In the end, it was incumbent upon artists to show that they were serious professional artists and that they ought to be treated with the same respect given to other contemporary artists.

This article was developed from an essay first created for the exhibition catalogue for 7: Professional Native Indian Artists Inc.*, organized by the MacKenzie Art Gallery in Regina. The exhibition opened in September 2013 and toured to five venues across Canada through 2016. The catalogue was published as a hardcover book, which sold out before the tour ended. A second edition was recently printed and is available through the gallery.*

TOP LEFT AND RIGHT: COURTESY OF THE MACKENZIE ART GALLERY. BOTTOM: CP PHOTO/TOM HANSON

CANADIAN

HISTORY ~~MAKERS~~ BREAKERS

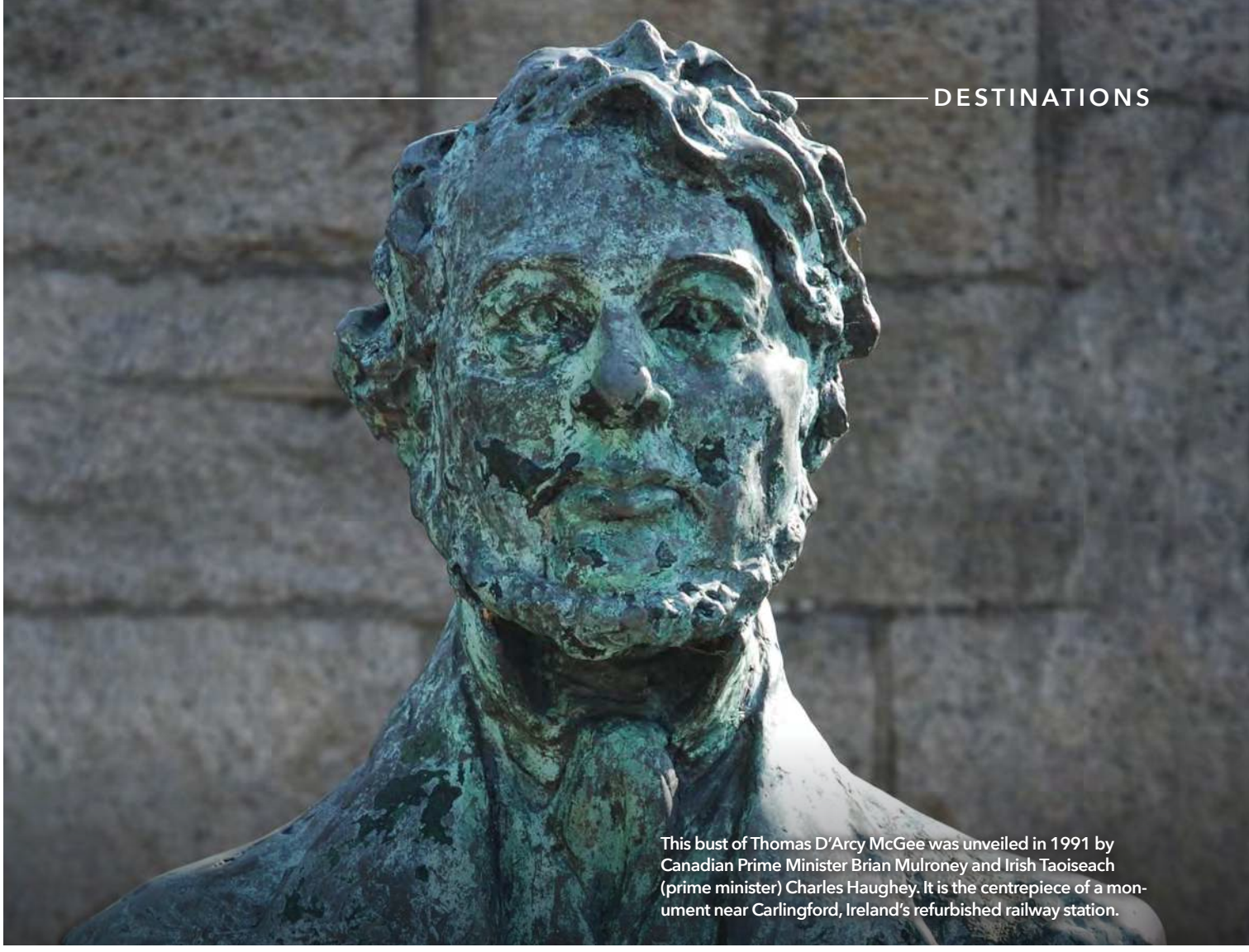


Shut Out **is a hockey love story. But it's a love that was unrequited.**

A compelling political memoir of leadership and speaking truth to power.

Discover these books and more at

harpercollins.ca



This bust of Thomas D'Arcy McGee was unveiled in 1991 by Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Irish Taoiseach (prime minister) Charles Haughey. It is the centrepiece of a monument near Carlingford, Ireland's refurbished railway station.

CARLINGFORD HERITAGE TRUST. PHOTO BY NORMAN MCMULLAN

An Irish town honours its great Canadian

With medieval streets, seaside beaches, and a network of hiking trails, Carlingford is a popular tourist destination that also showcases the legacy of one of Canada's Fathers of Confederation. *by Don Cummer*

On a sunny Saturday in June, the streets of Carlingford, Ireland, are full of tourists — a welcome sight after fifteen months of the COVID-19 shutdown. Carlingford has a population of 1,500. There aren't quite that many tourists in the streets yet, but the numbers augur well for the oncoming season.

The tourists come for the town's scenery, hiking, and history. They enjoy the quaint shops, the tea rooms, and the bike rentals. They take guided tours of the well-preserved castle and stroll through a medieval layout of streets where the buildings are painted a dazzling array of colours. Some of the buildings have stood since the fifteenth century. The castle dates back to the year 1190.

Most tourists don't pause to read the inscription below the bust near the old railway station that recently served as Carlingford's tourist information centre. It notes that former Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney unveiled this memorial in 1991. The station itself proudly displays a print of a nineteenth-century photograph: a dapper man in bow tie and frock coat holding a top hat and a walking stick.

A few blocks away on a whitewashed wall, a plaque reads: "Birthplace of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, 1825–1868." The text continues: "Thomas D'Arcy McGee spent his formative years in a house on this site. He had, by any standards, a remarkable life: political journalist, orator, Irish rebel leader, American newspaper proprietor, and most lastingly as a pioneering Canadian parliamentarian."

Thomas D'Arcy McGee may be Ireland's greatest gift to Canada, but he is not well-known in his homeland. More famous here are his early colleagues in rebellion against Britain, some of whom laid the foundations for the Fenian

Above: One of the many medieval buildings that remain in Carlingford, the restored castle dominates the harbour that brought trade and prosperity to the town during the Middle Ages.

Left: Each year at the Thomas D'Arcy McGee Summer School in Carlingford, the Newport Players and playwright Anthony G. Russell put a notable figure from Irish history on trial. Here, at the summer school in 2016, a performer with bowed head plays Patrick Pearse, leader of the 1916 Easter Rising, as he awaits his verdict. In 2018, when the performers tried McGee for treason against Ireland, the audience-jury found him not guilty.

Brotherhood. In 1868 the Fenians assassinated McGee on his Ottawa doorstep.

Irish rebels of that day considered McGee a traitor. He had become the outspoken champion for a new nation in British North America, a poet and orator who was the first to articulate a vision for what would become a transcontinental Canada. And, as an Irish Catholic living in Montreal, he was the Father of Confederation who devised constitutional solutions to one of the vexing political problems of his day: how to protect minority rights in the new Dominion.

McGee's legacy on minority rights has sparked a new interest in his life and career, as well as new consideration of how the lessons learned might be applied to Ireland's own complex history. For a decade, Carlingford's annual Thomas D'Arcy McGee Summer School has provided a forum for leaders from the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, and Canada to consider contemporary issues through the lens of McGee's life and achievements.

The initial driving force for the summer school came from former politician and diplomat Loyola Hearn when he was Canada's ambassador to Ireland. A keen student of Irish history and culture, he worked with Pat O'Callaghan, Tommy Fegan, and Anthony Russell, founders of the Thomas D'Arcy McGee Foundation. The Carlingford Heritage Trust also came on board to help to highlight the birthplace of this great Canadian.

Located on the border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, Carlingford is well-situated to bring different perspectives to geopolitical issues. The summer school gathers scholars, academics, politicians, and public-policy advocates for two days of speeches, panel discussions, music, and theatre, all built around each year's topical theme. And, as

TOP: © PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE, NATIONAL MONUMENTS SERVICE, GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND. BOTTOM LEFT: THOMAS D'ARCY MCGEE FOUNDATION, PHOTO BY JAMES CALLAGHAN

EPIC The Irish Emigration Museum occupies a restored structure in the Docklands area of Dublin and explores the history and impacts of ten million Irish women and men who left the country.

the Irish say, "the *craic* is mighty" — that is, there are great conversations among friends old and new.

The COVID-19 pandemic has moved the 2021 event online. On November 16 and 17 — it's not a "summer" school this year — people in Canada and around the world can join the Irish in applying McGee's lessons to contemporary issues. This year's theme is "Diversity and Inclusion," and the event will incorporate discussions arising from the renewal of tensions in Northern Ireland as well as the Black Lives Matter movement.

As well as organizing the summer school, the Carlingford Heritage Trust was instrumental in creating an excellent exhibition at the local tourism office that outlined the evolution of McGee's career. It included a plaster cast of McGee's hand, a wanted poster for McGee's assassin, and, for a time, the pistol of Patrick James Whelan, who was hanged for shooting McGee.

Entitled *Thomas D'Arcy McGee: Irish Rebel — Canadian Patriot*, the exhibition is being moved from Carlingford to Dublin, Ireland, where it will eventually be showcased at EPIC The Irish Emigration Museum. At both the 2019 and 2020 World Travel Awards, EPIC was voted Europe's leading tourist attraction.

Meanwhile, in the Dublin suburb of Templeogue, a popular pub takes its name from a statesman who is virtually unknown to those who come for a meal or a pint. The walls of D'Arcy McGee's Bar and Restaurant display photos of McGee as a young man and as a mature politician.

You can read the proclamation offering $2,000 for information leading to the capture of his assassin. And a photograph shows the crowds that lined Montreal's streets for McGee's funeral — the largest in Canada's history.

Most of the Dublin pub's clientele haven't a clue who McGee was. But, with the opening of the EPIC exhibition, more customers will be able to join with the people of Carlingford and its summer school students in appreciating the Irishman who made significant contributions to Canada.

Details about the program and online format for the 2021 Thomas D'Arcy McGee Summer School in November will be announced at thomasdarcymcgee.com.

IF YOU GO

GETTING THERE: Carlingford is a ninety-minute drive north from Dublin or an hour south from Belfast.

WHERE TO STAY: Accommodations are available for every taste and budget. Camping and trailer parking are available nearby.

EXPLORE: The town boasts many pubs and restaurants, especially in and near the medieval market square. Kitchens tend to close at 9:00 p.m. A local breakfast favourite is Ruby Ellen's Tea Rooms.

BRING: Carlingford is small and easily walkable. A network of hiking and biking trails runs through the Cooley Mountains and along the shoreline of Carlingford Lough. Seacoast beaches are popular, and a ferry runs from Greenore, in the Irish Republic, across the lough to Greencastle in Northern Ireland. The Carlingford Heritage Centre offers guided tours of Carlingford Castle and the medieval town.

Receive the books-focused *Reading Den* e-newsletter and be entered to win a monthly book prize!

Sign up free at:
CanadasHistory.ca/newsletters

EPIC THE IRISH EMIGRATION MUSEUM

AT THE MUSEUMS

Above: Yvonne McKague Housser, *Marguerite Pilot of Deep River (Girl with Mulleins)*, circa 1932, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 61 cm.

Left: Suzanne Duquet, *Group*, 1941, oil on canvas, 127 x 149.8 cm.

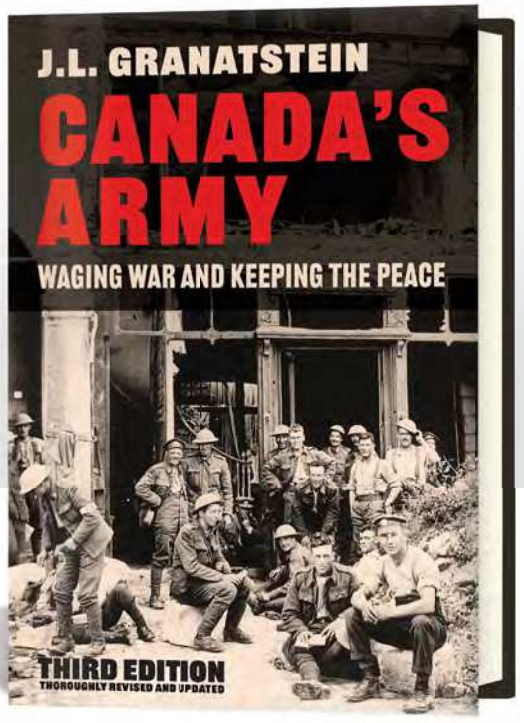
As it marks the recent centenary of the first exhibition by the influential Group of Seven Canadian painters, the McMichael Canadian Art Collection presents a selection of more than two hundred artworks by Canadian women from the same period. The new exhibition *Uninvited: Canadian Women Artists in the Modern Moment* displays art by members of a talented generation of female painters, sculptors, photographers, filmmakers, and architects while reflecting the disadvantaged positions from which women artists of their era worked and the fact that their achievements were long overlooked in Canadian art history. Organized by McMichael chief curator Sarah Milroy, *Uninvited* shows paintings by Emily Carr and by members of Montreal's Beaver Hall Group, sculptures by Elizabeth Wyn Wood, Frances Loring, and Florence Wyle, as well as works by immigrant artists Paraskeva Clark and Regina Selden and Indigenous female artists from the period, including Attatsiaq, Elizabeth Katt Petrant, and Mrs. Walking Sun. While the Group of Seven is known for its members' landscape paintings, the women artists' work included portraiture as well as depictions of urban life, industrial landscapes, and marginalized people. *Uninvited* continues at the gallery in Kleinburg, Ontario, northwest of Toronto, until January 16, 2022.

Pointe-à-Callière's exhibition *Italian Montréal* shows how cafés have been important gathering places for Italo-Montrealers.

Montreal's Pointe-à-Callière museum is presenting an exhibition that showcases the heritage and contributions of one of the city's oldest and largest immigrant cultural communities. *Italian Montréal* tells about the thousands of Italians who left behind economic and political problems in their birth country and sought opportunities in a new city and country in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It also highlights the social, economic, cultural, and creative contributions made since then by Italo-Montrealers, including more than a quarter million residents of the city who today describe themselves as having Italian roots. The exhibition does this thanks to more than 325 objects donated by families and organizations. Those items include photographs and family heirlooms, as well as the bicycles and sports memorabilia seen in the section of the exhibition dedicated to the café – a place where Italo-Montrealers gathered to discuss politics, social conditions, and sports, or simply to relax. *Italian Montréal* continues until January 9, 2022.

TOP LEFT: COLLECTION OF THE MUSÉE NATIONAL DES BEAUX ARTS DU QUÉBEC. GIFT OF THE ARTIST. PHOTO: MNBAQ, JEAN-GUY KEROUAC. © ESTATE OF THE ARTIST. TOP RIGHT: MCMICHAEL CANADIAN ART COLLECTION. GIFT OF THE FOUNDERS, ROBERT AND SIGNE MCMICHAEL. © ESTATE OF YVONNE MCKAGUE HOUSSER. BOTTOM: © MYRIAM MENARD / POINTE-A-CALLIÈRE

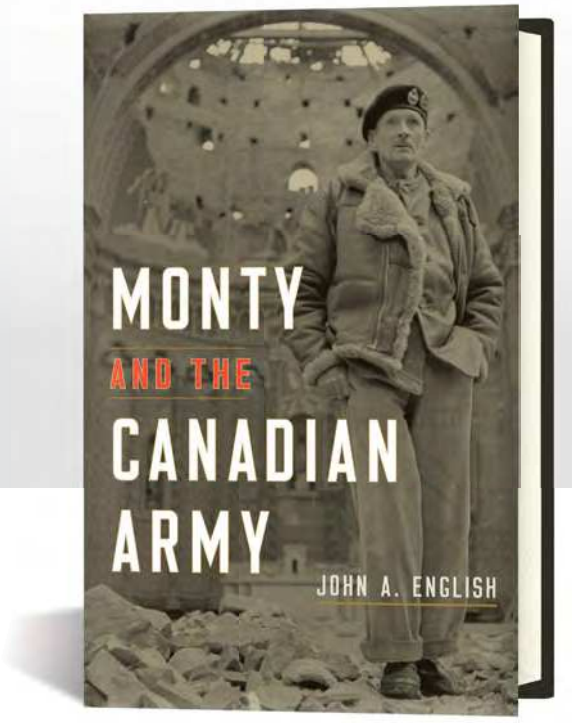
New from **University of Toronto Press**



PAPER 9781487509484

"Granatstein is, without doubt, one of Canada's pre-eminent military historians ... [Should any] Canadian wish to become functionally knowledgable about our army, this book is an excellent place to start."

STEVEN DIETER
The Globe and Mail



CLOTH 9781487506995

"Prodigious research, combined with a clear and engaging writing style, make this an outstanding work."

PHILLIP S. MEILINGER
Col. USAF, ret, and PhD,
author of *Thoughts on War*

@utpress

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
UTORONTOPRESS.COM

An artist works along Boterstraat in Ypres, Belgium, with Saint Martin's Church and the Cloth Hall in the background on June 12, 1919. Researchers at Ypres' In Flanders Fields Museum have identified the painter as likely being Mary Riter Hamilton.

BY ANTONY D'YPRES. OOSTENDE/IN FLANDERS FIELDS MUSEUM, YPRES

OPEN BOOK

The art of commemoration

Canadian painter Mary Riter Hamilton had studied in Europe before the First World War, and she wanted to return there to serve as an official war artist. Rejected by the Canadian War Memorials Fund, she instead received a commission from the Amputation Club of British Columbia (now the War Amps) to commemorate those who had been lost during the war.

Beginning in 1919, Hamilton travelled to devastated towns and battlefields in France and Belgium where Canadian soldiers had been active. At the Somme, Vimy Ridge, and the Ypres Salient, she endured difficult conditions that included rough shelter, inadequate food, poor weather, and surroundings littered with unexploded shells. Working sometimes with canvas and at others with available materials such as paper, plywood, and cardboard, Hamilton nonetheless produced more than three hundred paintings between 1919 and 1922. While the work left her physically and emotionally exhausted, Hamilton refused to sell her battlefield paintings and eventually donated them to the Public Archives of Canada.

Irene Gammel's I Can Only Paint: The Story of Battlefield Artist Mary Riter Hamilton *draws from archival research in Canada and Europe as well as previously unpublished letters to place this period of Hamilton's work in the context of the artist's life and in relation to other art and war art. The book includes dozens of full-colour reproductions of Hamilton's paintings as well as maps, photographs, and illustrations.*

Gammel says Hamilton's art involves a female perspective that distinguishes it from the work of official Canadian war artists. The following excerpt from I Can Only Paint *elucidates how that perspective contributed to some of the paintings Hamilton made in the Ypres Salient, where she explored the emotions and social tensions surrounding commemoration and reconstruction.*

Among the ruins of Ypres

by Irene Gammel

For centuries, Ypres, in Flemish Flanders in Belgium, had been world-renowned for its cloth: Far-flung nations clamoured for its fine laces, linens, and wools. All of this changed in 1914 when German soldiers marched through the city on their way to occupy parts of France and Belgium. To prevent them from developing a stronghold so close to the Channel, the British occupied Ypres, with the German army then directing its heavy guns on the city and the surrounding villages. Soon, headlines around the world announced that its iconic Cloth Hall had burned following German bombardment.

The war would maintain its violent grip on Ypres for four excruciating years. The city and its neighbouring villages — such as Boezinge, Dikkebus, Hollebeke, Sint-Jan, Voormezele, and Zillebeke, all of which Hamilton would paint, along with the outlying part of the Ypres Salient, as it was called —

Mary Riter Hamilton, *Ypres Honours the Acting Mayor of 1914 (Alternative Title: Ypres En Fete to Honor the Acting Mayor of 1914)*, 1920, oil on paper, 20.1 by 22.2 cm.

became the epicentre of resistance, both physical and symbolic. Here, in the northern part of the Western Front, Allies and Germans attacked and counterattacked ad infinitum. With neither opponent clearly dominating, territory gained was often lost again weeks or just days later.

As in France, here in Ypres the war became stationary and entrenched. Canadians were involved in a number of costly battles for the salient, including the Second Battle of Ypres in 1915 and the Third Battle of Ypres in 1917 (better known as the Battle of Passchendaele). In the process, Ypres became an iconic war town, much like French Verdun to the southeast along the same Western Front. With an unforgettable photograph of the burning Cloth Hall distributed by mass media around the world, Ypres was forever branded a Great War city in the global imagination.

The iconic photograph of the Cloth Hall in flames was taken by brothers Maurice and Robert Antony. Robert was an official army photographer for Belgium, and the Antony family ran a photography studio on Rue du Beurre (Boterstraat) in Ypres. By 1919, the brothers had been commissioned to photograph the war graves and the reconstruction. During this process, on June 12, they photographed a woman painting the Cloth Hall.

Like a wide-angle panning frame from a movie, the image shows an artist in a trench coat and brimmed hat making a drawing with a long street of ruins and debris curving behind her on the Rue du Beurre. She stands in profile, precisely aligned with the hall, which rises above the destroyed town. As the tall grasses swallow her feet, she takes a step closer to her easel. Her coat crinkles as her arm angles toward the canvas. Mouth set in a thin concentrated line, her hand becomes her active entry point for the war scene, the tool through which the scene becomes knowable to both artist and viewer.

The In Flanders Fields Museum's researchers have identified the painter as likely Mary Riter Hamilton. This would make her among the earliest visitors to Ypres, in early June 1919, after the mayor had first unlatched the city gates to civilians in an effort to return militarized Ypres to postwar normalcy. A similar woman, photographed painting in July, was likewise identified as Hamilton. This time she is standing in the marketplace, painting the Cloth Hall, which almost exactly matches the scene in Hamilton's oil on plywood *Ypres, Belgium, 1920, Early Morning*. Although this painting is dated 1920 and is smaller, it has the same proportion, and, of course, it's entirely possible that she made a copy of her 1919 work.

Why did Ypres assume such a central role in Hamilton's work? Given the presence of Canadians here, Hamilton had first expressed her interest in the city in her letter to Sir (Byron) Edmund Walker of the National Gallery's advisory board in 1917. Once overseas, Hamilton was able to immerse herself in the destroyed city in order to explore the postwar social tensions surrounding commemoration. Moreover,

> Even as she paints a scene of official commemoration, Hamilton chooses to foreground those who stand on the sidelines

she witnessed the rapid emergence of a commemorative and cultural industry of war and peace, the beginnings of what Jay Winter calls "the memory boom," which continues to this day with over four hundred thousand visitors each year, and double that number in 2014 during the centenary. …

In Ypres, the tourist industry would become highly contested, and Hamilton would immerse herself in these tensions, which soon fuelled her artwork. For Hamilton, Ypres's landmark sites — the Cloth Hall, the ramparts, and the Menin Gate, as well as the many battlefields of the Ypres Salient — would communicate

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO. 1988-180-48, COPY NEGATIVE C-101326

Mary Riter Hamilton, *Filling the Shell Holes in No Man's Land*, 1920, oil on paper, 27.0 by 34.8 cm.

this duality of destruction and reconstruction, of safeguarding memory sites while also rebuilding imaginatively and materially. …

On Thursday, May 19, 1920, Hamilton was part of the crowd on the overcast afternoon when Ypres was decked out in Belgian flags that underscored the celebratory mood. Many international visitors and journalists had come to witness what the *London Illustrated Times* called "the scene of an unprecedented event." With King Albert of Belgium present, Field-Marshal Lord John Denton Pinkstone French, Earl of Ypres, awarded the city the Military Cross, acknowledging its suffering and resilience during the war.

Ypres's beloved mayor accepted this honour on behalf of his city, as Hamilton's title describes: *Ypres Honours the Acting Mayor of 1914* (1920). The colourful flags and her inscription on the painting's verso, "Ypres En Fete …," recall Claude Monet's *La rue Montorgueil à Paris, Fête du 30 Juin 1878* (1878), which shows the streets filled with people and flags as a tribute to the city's recovery after a lost war, igniting a democratic élan in the still fragile republic. Like Monet, Hamilton is an observer of the scene, with the colours of a multitude of Belgian flags igniting the grey of the Cloth Hall, where military and civilians have gathered in a key ritual of community-affirmation after the war. Standing at the edges to the left are parents with children, including a particularly striking parent-and-child pair dressed in the tartan-inspired garments of the Highlanders.

The collective ritual shows the way forward in shaping a new postwar society. Even as she paints a scene of official commemoration, Hamilton chooses to foreground those who stand on the sidelines. While she does not give her figures faces, this emphasis signals the interplay between individual and collective in a postwar, democratic spirit. Her visual assembling of dispersed groups in celebration bolsters the theme of reconstruction and new civic life. Her collection as a whole prominently includes women and children, referencing, on one hand, the absence of men and the death of soldiers, and on the other a new postwar vision of Canada as a nation concerned with themes of peace and reconstruction. …

Hamilton spent the spring of 1920 in pursuit of signs of rebirth as a means of healing not only the mind but also a cross-national humanity that had suffered through the war and would eventually become the recipient of these paintings. Her painting on paper *Filling the Shell Holes in No Man's Land* (1920) reflects this recuperative shift. Working in a soggy landscape that could be Passchendaele, with the same cadaverous trees as in *Shrapnel Corner, Flanders* (1920), two nameless men proclaim the era of reconstruction.

The workers are faceless, and their non-matching uniforms — one wearing a white cap and brown trousers, the other a blue cap and blue trousers — suggest that they might be Chinese labourers, who were known for such motley uniforms. These labourers worked alongside Hamilton, and, while typically marginalized in her collection, they seem to be represented here — albeit without being named in her title. Wielding shovels on the battlefields, they work in tandem to repair the war's damage. A third spade is resting in a hole to the right, a rhetorical call to the viewer to join in and help rebuild a habitable landscape.

As these two men confront the landscape, viewers are left to contemplate the restoration work that continues a hundred years on. Like the seedlings of *Mine Crater — Hooghe*, the smallest objects can bear significant symbolic weight. Hamilton recognized this. The rare verb of her title — *Filling the Shell Holes* — is key, as filling the holes is like bandaging wounds, initiating the healing of the earth and of society through repair and restoration before rebuilding can begin. This is a process that requires community action. "No man is an island, entire of itself," as John Donne writes, and this first truly global conflict had made that truth palpable — down to every individual shell hole.

Hamilton may have used the painting of these sites of consolation as a way of holding her own stress and trauma at bay. She applied these salvaging techniques to two key sites where

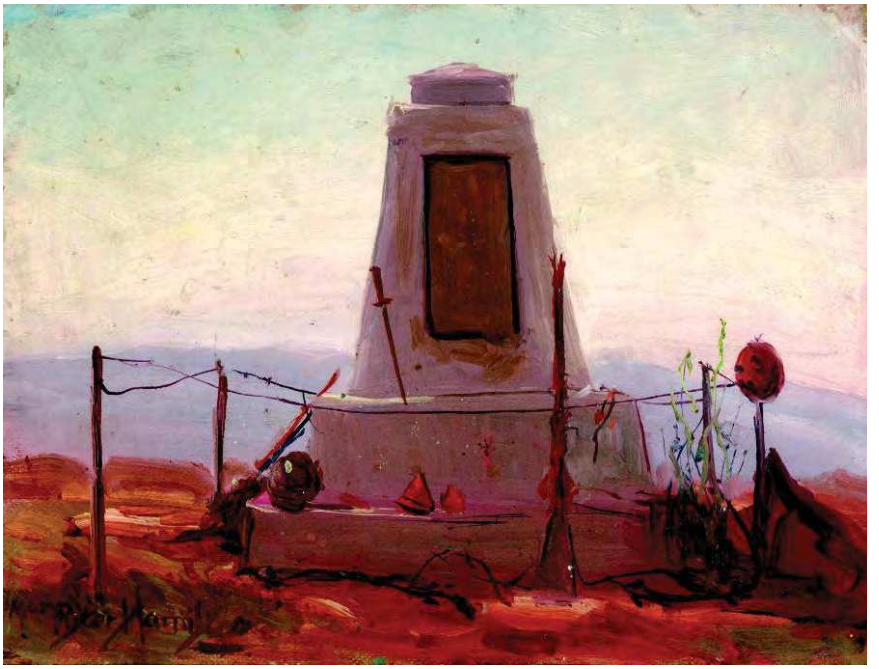
LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO. 1988-180-27, COPY NEGATIVE C-101328

Canadians had fought, creating iconic paintings. She performed a special kind of salvaging at Sanctuary Wood (Hill 62), a distinctly Canadian site in the Battle of Mount Sorrel, fought and lost by Canadians in 1916. A.Y. Jackson, who was wounded in this battle in June 1916, refused to paint it, while Hamilton painted it as an uncanny space that denies full entrance.

Sanctuary Wood (1920), at 45.7 by 59.1 centimetres, is one of her mid- to large-sized paintings, with exquisitely honed details. Here, Hamilton's composition puts the underbrush in the foreground. With a felled tree immediately obstructing the viewer's entrance, this is not a trail for the living to tread; she marks it off as a sanctuary to salvage. The midfield depicts a line of tree trunks — all splintered with limbs blown off. Intricate purple shadows of mourning seem to resuscitate these splinters, inviting viewers to contemplate from a distance this otherworldly space imbued with the spirit of the dead.

In painting this scene, she did not claim to paint her own affect but rather, as she told a journalist, that of the soldiers, expressing in these words the motivation for her entire expedition: "If as you and others tell me, there is something of the suffering and heroism of the war in my pictures it is because at that moment the spirit of those who fought and died seemed to linger in the air. Every splintered tree and scarred clod spoke of their sacrifice." In the painting, the splintered tree trunks stand like the ecstatic figures in *El Greco's Fifth Seal of the Apocalypse* (1608–14), the largest tree to the left mirroring the position of John the Baptist's witnessing of the Apocalypse. By engaging the art of El Greco to articulate both the chaos of the battlefield and the inchoate emotions of mourning in the wake of violent death, her painting seems to suggest that the community cannot be reintegrated through the evocation of the bodies of the dead. Instead, the artist calls upon art to hold off the despair of death.

Likewise, at Passchendaele, the site of heavy fighting and extraordinary losses for both sides, Hamilton focused on consolidating emotions. The result was *Canadian Monument, Passchendaele Ridge* (circa 1920), one of her most iconic paintings, showing the cone-shaped memorial adorned with a dark-gold plaque framed in fine burgundy. Set in the battlefield, it rises against a bright sky, ethereal and luminous. The memorial had been built by the Nova Scotia Highlanders, known colloquially as the Neverfails men, whose battalion had been decimated here in October 1917. The surviving soldiers paid tribute to their comrades on the site of their former headquarters. In the painting, mud-covered rifles lean on the base, emphasizing the structure's verticality. A helmet hangs on the fence post. This spontaneous work of commemorative art evinces the soldiers' empathy, their "soldiers' heart" on display, with the curated pieces functioning like trench art, as "objectifications of loss … and as materializations of the relationships between object and maker … and the living and the dead," wrote Nicholas Saunders.



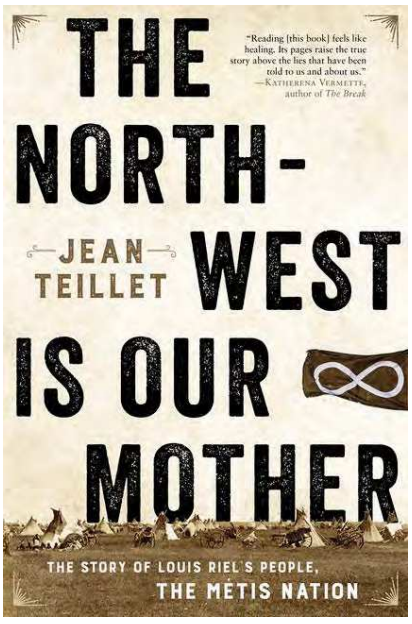
Mary Riter Hamilton, *Canadian Monument, Passchendaele Ridge*, circa 1920, oil on cardboard, 25.9 by 34.7 cm. The artist wrote on the painting's back: "To 85th Batt to 148 Officiers & Men."

> "The spirit of those who fought and died seemed to linger in the air. Every splintered tree and scarred clod spoke of their sacrifice."

These artifacts remind the viewer of the deeply personal experience of each individuated loss — a profound sentiment that is rarely captured by official national monuments. Hamilton signed her improvised canvas in the same red-brown colour in which she rendered the mementoes that decorate the scene, drawing a provocative parallel between herself — a trained artist without government accreditation — and the soldiers sent to the battlefields by their country but nonetheless sovereign in their commemorative practice. Scribbling on the back and mixing two languages, she dedicated the painting: "To 85th Batt to 148 Officiers & Men."

From I Can Only Paint: The Story of Battlefield Artist Mary Riter Hamilton, *by Irene Gammel. Reprinted with permission of McGill-Queen's University Press.*

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA, ACC. NO. 1988-180-114, COPY NEGATIVE C-104440


"Reading [this book] feels like healing. Its pages raise the true story above the lies that have been told to us and about us."
—Katherena Vermette, author of The Break
THE NORTH-WEST IS OUR MOTHER
JEAN TEILLET
THE STORY OF LOUIS RIEL'S PEOPLE, THE MÉTIS NATION

SEASONED RACONTEUR

The North-West Is Our Mother
by Jean Teillet
Patrick Crean Editions,
590 pages, $36.99

Imagine if your story — the story of your family, your people, your culture — was often told by someone else. Imagine further that some of these outsiders were tale-twisters, spinmeisters, propagandists, racists, many of them with underlying imperialist motives. Now pull this flawed narrative forward and embed it into the story of Canada; muddle it even more, so that some modern-day Canadians with no arterial connection to your nation or homeland either dismiss and malign you or reimagine — and insert themselves into — your people's history. Such is the story of the Métis Nation that Jean Teillet's *The North-West Is Our Mother* seeks to set straight.

At more than five hundred pages, the book's length makes it appear like one of the many tomes that have explored Métis history with an academic lens. But the stylistically hand-drawn map of the North-West, the Métis homeland, on the book's inside front cover tells readers that they are in for a different approach — a fireside chat, rather than a didactic lecture.

Teillet, a lawyer, lecturer, and great-grandniece of Louis Riel, begins in the late 1790s with the generation that will become the founders of the Métis Nation and ends in the present day, highlighting the current struggles the Métis face: reconciliation, recognition, resources, and the newest among them, race shifting, which involves white people claiming Métis identity.

Interwoven throughout the narrative are the movers and shakers of Métis history: Jean-Baptise Lagimodière, Cuthbert Grant, Louis Riel, Gabriel Dumont, Jim Brady, and Malcolm Norris. Teillet writes, "This book contains the best-known stories of the Métis Nation as well as some forgotten ones." She shares the ubiquitous stories of often-silent yet dauntless voyageurs, fierce nomadic buffalo hunters, Métis bards and balladeers, and the indomitable Métis women.

Teillet's story of the Métis is framed around five resistances, which are set against the backdrop of events leading up to the creation of the Canadian state: the First National Resistance against Lord Selkirk and his settlers, where she highlights the birth of the Métis Nation at the Battle of Frog Plain in 1816; the Second National Resistance, a "cry for freedom" against the goliath Hudson's Bay Company; the Third National Resistance against Canada — more particularly, against Orangeist Ontarians seeking the spoils of the West — and the resultant Red River Resistance; the Fourth National Resistance, or "La Guerre Nationale," in 1885 at Batoche; and the Fifth National Resistance, a Métis collective renaissance in opposition to the Canadian government.

She upends the typical historiography surrounding chronicles of the Métis by relying not only on historical and anthropological records but on her own family history and the rich oral tradition of the Métis. Teillet intentionally employs Métis terminology (differentiating between a voyageur and a Freeman — an independent hunter-trader), toponyms (Frog Plain, not Seven Oaks), and names of historical events (the "reign of terror," not the Red River Expeditionary Force), and she clearly identifies the Métis Nation's homeland in words and in maps.

She does not pussyfoot when making statements such as "Lord Selkirk was a racist"; she is not Pollyannish when calling out the backroom duplicity of the Catholic Church; and she does not conceal the internal struggles within the Métis Nation itself.

The North-West Is Our Mother embodies the heart of Métis storytelling — and, like her Métis forebears, Teillet is a seasoned raconteur. In her book, she builds a story of a people born of the plains and levered by kinship, resistance, a stalwart sense of identity, and the "belief that their past battles, celebrated in their stories and songs, will eventually enable a future where they will be free to be the nation of their dreams, the one they first sang into being in 1816."

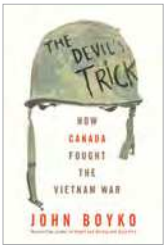
The North-West Is Our Mother is not only a paean to the genesis and survival of the Métis Nation but also a bellwether for reconciliation in twenty-first-century Canada.

Reviewed by **Connie Wyatt Anderson**, recipient of the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Teaching and the Manitoba Métis Federation Distinguished Leader in Education Award. She is from The Pas, Manitoba, and is lead of the Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba's education pillar.

WITNESSING CONFLICT

The Devil's Trick: How Canada Fought the Vietnam War

by John Boyko
Knopf Canada, 256 pages, $32



At the end of January 1968, North Vietnamese forces launched eighty thousand troops into a hundred towns and cities in South Vietnam, including the capital, Saigon. The Communist north expected that the action would trigger a popular uprising and force the capitulation of the government in the south, which was then backed by nearly half a million U.S. troops. The Tet Offensive was the largest military operation by either side to that point of the Vietnam War.

The Americans claimed a tactical victory. The North Vietnamese declared a propaganda victory. But by then — four years into America's third-bloodiest foreign war — nobody believed the administration of President Lyndon Johnson or his military advisors. They only believed CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite, who weeks later concluded: "The only rational way out will be to negotiate, not as victors but as an honourable people who lived up to their pledge to defend democracy and did the best they could."

In the years since the war ended in 1973, libraries have filled their shelves with Vietnam War analysis. Retired military and political leaders have feathered their retirement nests with the proceeds of public-speaking tours. And filmmaking genius Ken Burns assembled the most compelling existing documentary on the subject.

Among the wealth of Vietnam War analysis, John Boyko's *The Devil's Trick: How Canada Fought the Vietnam War* deserves a respected place. That's not because he investigated more than Cronkite or documented better than Burns but because, not forcing his readers to love the war or to hate it, Boyko's book introduces six "guides" — Canadians and others who came to Canada — who invite readers into the war each of them witnessed.

Brigadier General Sherwood Lett led the Canadian delegation to Geneva in the 1950s, determining the mandate of the International Control Commission that was put in place after the partitioning of Vietnam in 1954. Then, on the ground, he was charged with the thankless job of maintaining peace in Vietnam, where the United States exerted a strong influence and feared a domino effect in Southeast Asia — Communism tipping over one country at a time. On Lett's heels, respected Canadian diplomat Blair Seaborn tried repeatedly to use his genuine connections with both U.S. and Canadian governments to troubleshoot and to broker peace among superpowers that wanted none of it.

Boyko gives voice to one Canadian who fought in Vietnam — Doug Carey — and one American draft dodger who chose not to — Joe Erickson. Each man struggled to adjust, the former fighting "in another man's war," the latter struggling when his marriage broke down and he searched for a place within the Canadian mosaic. Both experienced the culture of war and war resistance. Both suffered wounds of mind and body. They are truly the victims of the devil's trick — the act of convincing people that war can be desirable, normal, or even necessary.

Boyko brings the Vietnam War into even clearer focus via the stories of Rebecca Trinh, an ethnic Chinese woman who sought refuge in Canada, and Claire Culhane, who oversaw a Canadian-sponsored medical facility in South Vietnam. Trinh's dash from postwar Vietnam is the stuff of an action movie. Meanwhile, on the eve of the Tet Offensive, Culhane had just completed her last hospital rounds when a patient whispered, "The VC come tonight" (meaning the Communist Viet Cong guerilla movement). A bomb blast hours later threw her out of bed, as the war began to turn.

After a week of evacuating patients, Culhane admitted to her Vietnamese coworkers, "The best way I can help you is to go back home and try to stop the war." As Boyko recounts, she did not rest. He says her activism, which included a writing campaign, a hunger strike, and lobbying Parliament, shaped "the national conversation about Vietnam."

This book has many strengths. And, if a Canadian historian, reporter, Asia watcher, or diplomat in training ever needed a primer on placing the war in its time, Boyko's first thousand words do the trick.

Reviewed by **Ted Barris**, the author of *Rush to Danger: Medics in the Line of Fire*, which was longlisted for the 2020 RBC Taylor Prize for non-fiction in Canada.

MORE BOOKS

Making the Best of It: Women and Girls of Canada and Newfoundland During the Second World War

edited by Sarah Glassford and Amy Shaw
UBC Press, 309 pages, $34.95

She exhales a cloud of cigarette smoke while casually inspecting her work. In front of her lies a newly assembled Bren machine gun that would soon be shipped to British and Canadian forces on the front lines of the Second World War.

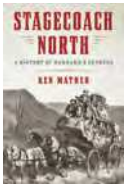
"Ronnie the Bren Girl," as she was known, featured prominently on wartime recruitment posters to encourage young women to seek work in munitions factories. In popular memory, she has come to epitomize women's experiences during the Second World War, when upwards of a million women entered the paid workforce, most of them for the first time.

However, as a new book edited by Sarah Glassford and Amy Shaw demonstrates, not all women in Canada and Newfoundland experienced the war the same way Ronnie did. *Making the Best of It* is a collection of essays that shines a light on the diversity of women's wartime experiences.

The essays appear in sections that explore women's experiences as children, adolescents, and mothers; on the home front as consumers; overseas as humanitarian workers; and as paid workers in war-related occupations. The histories emphasize women's complex identities as mothers, friends, volunteers, and workers who were united — or divided — by groupings based on age, ethnicity, location, class, or religion.

While it's a fascinating book for all readers, teachers will find particular interest in *Making the Best of It*. Not only does it offer new stories to add to our understanding of women's history during this period, it also provides a crash course in existing and evolving historical scholarship. The essays feature plenty of snippets from primary sources, and both teachers and students will benefit from the nuanced approach that shows how women's experiences during the Second World War were not all created equal. — *Joanna Dawson*

Stagecoach North: A History of Barnard's Express
by Ken Mather
Heritage House Publishing, 296 pages, $22.95



Entrepreneurs seized opportunities to make their fame and fortune during British Columbia's Cariboo Gold Rush of 1861 to 1867. In *Stagecoach North*, author Ken Mather introduces us to one of them, a latecomer to the express business who arrived in British Columbia in 1858, a few years before the gold rush.

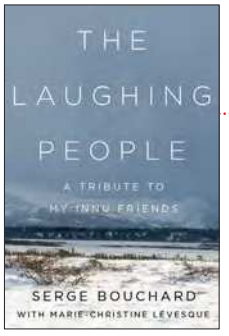
Originally from Quebec City, Francis Jones "Frank" Barnard held a succession of jobs on the west coast before earning enough money to send for his wife and family, who had stayed back in Toronto. Together they set up their home base in Yale, B.C., in 1861.

Barnard then seized the opportunity to create an express line that moved mail, gold, passengers, and supplies from Yale. With the knowledge that a wagon road from Yale and Lillooet to the Cariboo area was imminent, he seized the opportunity to establish Barnard's Express & Stage Line, moving mail, gold, passengers, and supplies between Yale and the goldfields. Barnard bought out competitor William Jaffray & Company and took over William "Billy" Ballou's mail service. He was soon afterwards awarded the mail contract that American-born Ballou had sought but was denied due to the colonial politics of the time.

The company was incorporated as British Columbia Express Company, or BX, in 1878. Barnard resigned in 1888, but the company operated until 1921.

In *Stagecoach North*, which includes maps, illustrations, and rare photos, Mather mixes scholarly research with interesting facts. His book is peppered with anecdotes and conveys the risks Barnard and others undertook over the rugged trails of south-central British Columbia. — *Beverley Tallon*

The Intersection of Canadian Stories

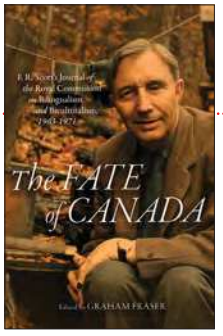


The Laughing People
A Tribute to My Innu Friends
Serge Bouchard, with Marie-Christine Lévesque
Hardcover $32.95 240 pages

"In a way this book is a gift that Serge Bouchard and the Essipit community are giving to the Innu people." –Martin Dufour, Chief, Essipit Innu First Nation Band Council

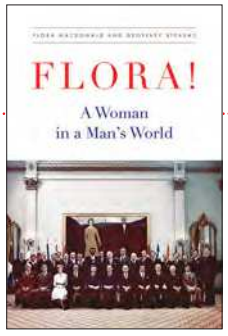
The Making of a Museum
Judith Nasby
Hardcover $49.95 152 pages, 95 photos, colour throughout

"*The Making of a Museum* is as much a portrait of Guelph's art centre as it is the story of the development of generations of contemporary artists in Canada." –Georgiana Uhlyarik, curator of Canadian art



The Fate of Canada
F. R. Scott's Journal of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1963–1971
Edited by Graham Fraser
Paperback $37.95 384 pages

"A unique and enduring record of a critical moment in Canada's history." –John English, Trinity College, University of Toronto



Flora!
A Woman in a Man's World
Flora MacDonald and Geoffrey Stevens
Hardcover $34.95 328 pages 24 photos

The exceptional story of the politician Flora Isabel MacDonald, who inspired Canadian women by breaking down gender barriers in a world of men.

mqup.ca | @McGillQueensUP

McGill-Queen's University Press

Psychiatry and the Legacies of Eugenics: Historical Studies of Alberta and Beyond
edited by Frank W. Stahnisch and Erna Kurbegović
Athabasca University Press, 411 pages, $37.99

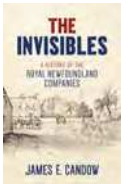
The contributors to *Psychiatry and the Legacies of Eugenics* do not mince words as they examine the potent consequences that can develop from a popular ideology — particularly an ideology legitimized by the science of its day.

In their collection of case studies focusing on Western Canada and the larger global context, editors Frank W. Stahnisch and Erna Kurbegović and other medical-history scholars investigate early twentieth-century beliefs regarding the "inheritance of biological, psychological, and sociological human traits." They show how these beliefs were able to penetrate all corners of society, including legislation, medical practices, and media representations.

Psychiatry and the Legacies of Eugenics is a bold anthology that offers a historical overview of the Western Canadian uptake of the eugenics movement while pinpointing key legacies and learning opportunities linked to current discourses on mental health. Readers are left to think critically as they ponder the aftershocks.

To what extent was Western Canada simply caught up in a "transnational phenomenon" with its acceptance of forced sterilization and other inhumane practices? And today, as we head into a brave new world, what might the surge of "newgenics" technology say about the evolution — or stagnation — of medical ethics? — *Kylie Nicolajsen*

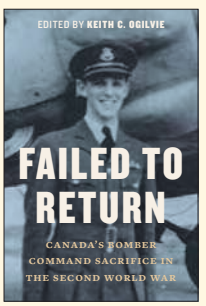
The Invisibles: A History of the Royal Newfoundland Companies
by James E. Candow
Breakwater Books, 238 pages, $21.95



Writer and former Parks Canada historian James Candow has filled a gap left by British military historians, who have largely overlooked the garrisons stationed in the colony of Newfoundland from 1824 to 1862. His carefully researched book *The Invisibles* illuminates the Royal Newfoundland Companies' role at a tumultuous time in the colony's history.

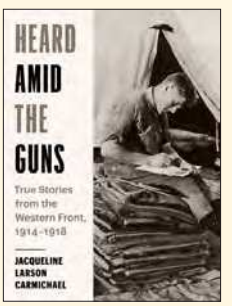
Officers were central to St. John's society, organizing or gracing events ranging from church services to balls, theatricals, concerts, cricket matches, and horse races. Meanwhile, the rank and file provided plenty of trade for pubs and other businesses. Soldiers represented Britain by supplementing

BOOKS TO REMEMBER

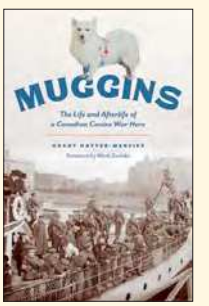


FAILED TO RETURN
by Keith C. Ogilvie (ed.)
Canada's Bomber Command Sacrifice in the Second World War
$26.95

FOUR WHO DARED
by Kenneth B. Cothliff
Inspiring Stories of Canadian Airmen in the Second World War
$22.95



HEARD AMID THE GUNS
by Jacqueline Larson Carmichael
True Stories from the Western Front, 1914–1918
$26.95



MUGGINS
by Grant Hayter-Menzies
The Life and Afterlife of a Canadian Canine War Hero
$22.95

FIND THESE BOOKS AND MORE AT YOUR LOCAL BOOKSTORE.
heritagehouse.ca

HeritageHouseBooks
heritagehousepublishing
HHpublishing

HGD HERITAGE GROUP DISTRIBUTION

Canada

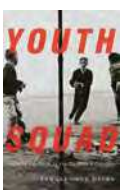
We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Canada Book Fund.

patchy policing and by fighting fires, including the Great Fire of 1846 in St. John's.

Newfoundland politics at the time was a stew of resentment between Catholics and Protestants, elites and workers, reformers and the establishment — and it was liberally seasoned with violence. Candow's book zeroes in on a riot following the 1861 election, when rioters supposedly shot at soldiers, who in turn fired into the crowd, killing three people and wounding several others.

Throughout *The Invisibles*, Candow highlights memorable people and events, conveying what life and work were like for the military men undertaking often-thankless tasks. Historical black-and-white images provide helpful context, and an appendix reproduces the plans of several military sites. — *Nancy Payne*

Youth Squad: Policing Children in the Twentieth Century
by Tamara Gene Myers
McGill-Queen's University Press,
267 pages, $32.95

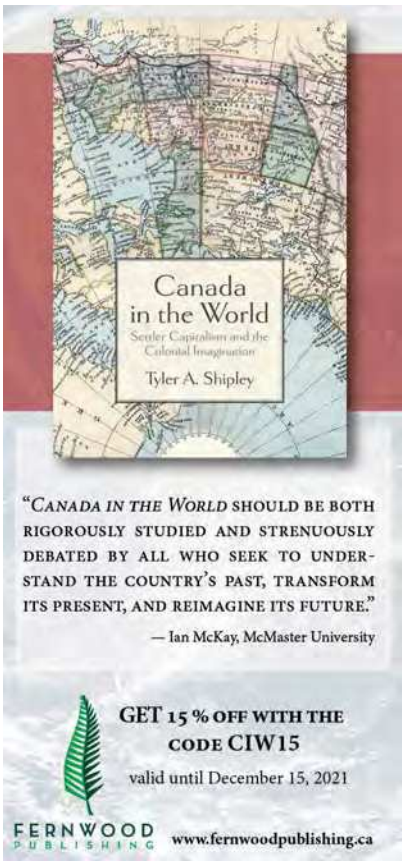


In the 1930s, police departments across Canada began to create new strategies for dealing with young people. As these strategies evolved, questions were raised regarding whether police should work to build friendly relationships with them or use fear and intimidation to scare them straight.

In *Youth Squad*, University of British Columbia history professor Tamara Gene Myers explores the often-complicated relationship between law enforcement and youth in the twentieth century. Her book explains how police departments in Canada, and in other cities in North America, began in the 1930s to form "youth squads" — which were comprised of police officers who worked to improve their forces' relationships and image with young people as well as to keep more children and adolescents out of the criminal-justice system.

Myers also discusses how police departments offered their own recreational programs for children as part of a proactive attempt to keep them away from "unsupervised street play" and "anti-social behaviour." She accepts that the people behind the strategies were often well-meaning but notes that, in many cases, these approaches led to the "over-policing of young people" that continues today. — *Dave Baxter*

CanadasHistory.ca/Books
When you visit Chapters-Indigo via our website links and make any purchase, Canada's History receives a commission that supports our publishing and educational programs.


Canada
in the World
Settler Capitalism and the
Colonial Imagination
Tyler A. Shipley
"CANADA IN THE WORLD SHOULD BE BOTH RIGOROUSLY STUDIED AND STRENUOUSLY DEBATED BY ALL WHO SEEK TO UNDERSTAND THE COUNTRY'S PAST, TRANSFORM ITS PRESENT, AND REIMAGINE ITS FUTURE."
— Ian McKay, McMaster University
GET 15 % OFF WITH THE CODE CIW15
valid until December 15, 2021
FERNWOOD PUBLISHING
www.fernwoodpublishing.ca

CANADIANS, KNOWN AND UNKNOWN
NEW edition
STOMPIN' TOM CONNORS
The myth and the man
AN UNAUTHORIZED BIOGRAPHY
CHARLIE RHINDRESS
STOMPIN' TOM CONNORS
Second edition
Charlie Rhindress
$24.95, paperback
An in-depth look at the man behind the myth of Stompin' Tom and his complex family life.
This second edition includes new perspectives on the intelligent, stubborn, creative, cantankerous and thoughtful man who created a character embraced by Canadians from coast to coast.
J.L. Ilsley
A Political Biography
BARRY CAHILL
J. L. ILSLEY
Barry Cahill
$27.95, paperback
J. L. Ilsley was the federal finance minister who found the money to finance Canada's participation in the Second World War. He was also Prime Minister Mackenzie King's nemesis. This biography, Ilsley's first, offers a new perspective on how the federal government operated during the war – and how it funded the enormous war effort.
AVAILABLE NOW!
FORMAC
Formac Publishing Company limited
www.formac.ca

Her Excellency the Right Honourable Governor General Mary Simon.

The promise of the future

Canada's first Indigenous Governor General sees history education as the key to unlocking a better future. *by Brooke Campbell and Janet Walker*

For more than one hundred years, *Canada's History*, founded in 1920 as *The Beaver*, has shared the photographs and stories of people in Canada. When we published our special collector's issue marking a century of publishing last year, we made a commitment to bring back *The Beaver* as a reimagined annual supplement that centres on Indigenous stories and storytellers — perspectives often pushed to the side or neglected altogether in the early days of the magazine.

We know that if we are to learn from history it is increasingly important to amplify the voices and to share the stories of all Canadians.

At the time of publishing, we find ourselves at an unparalleled moment in Canadian history with the installation of Her Excellency the Right Honourable Mary Simon as the thirtieth Governor General of Canada — a moment that resonates deeply with our promise to better reflect the lives and stories of those who live in this country. A former diplomat and journalist and a distinguished Inuk leader, Simon is the first Indigenous person to hold the viceregal position. She meets this moment in our shared history with a unique range of perspectives and experiences. She was born in Nunavik, in northern Quebec, and her father, Bob May (who was originally from Manitoba), ran the local Hudson's Bay Company post, while her mother, Nancy May, was Inuk.

Throughout her life, Simon learned how to navigate between differing Inuit and non-Inuit worlds. She brings an understanding and strength to her new role, allowing her to act as a bridge between Canadians' diverse lived experiences.

At her installation on July 26 Simon reminded us of the importance of learning about history to envision a better tomorrow, saying that she "will strive to hold together the tension of the past with the promise of the future."

The Right Honourable Roméo LeBlanc, the twenty-fifth Governor General of Canada, similarly recognized the value of history and historical education when he established the Governor General's History Awards in 1996.

A former teacher, LeBlanc helped to inspire a national recognition program for Canadian history teachers. Since then, more than two hundred teachers have been honoured, and the Governor General's History Awards have expanded to include other deserving storytellers and organizations.

From teachers, authors, and scholars to curators, community volunteers, and more, the distinguished award recipients bring context and clarity to the past and inspire us to learn more about Canada and its many peoples.

For twenty-five years, Canada's National History Society has been honoured to work with the Office of the Secretary to the Governor General to encourage excellence in educational and public programming about our history and heritage.

We look forward to working with Her Excellency Mary Simon as we continue to recognize important stories, the people they represent, and those who proudly share them.

"Embracing the *real* history of Canada," Simon shared, "makes us stronger as a nation, unites Canadian society, and teaches our kids that we must always do our best, especially when it's hard."

SGT JOHANNE MAHEU, RIDEAU HALL © OSGG BSGG, 2021

Ice compadres

This photo shows my father, John Stephen O'Connor, and his curling team in the early 1950s in Quebec City. Dad is in the front row, second from the left. He was born in Quebec City in 1920 and joined the Royal Canadian Air Force at the beginning of the Second World War, eventually being posted to Burma.

Dad returned to Quebec after the war and worked for Northern Electric, which was later known as Northern Telecom (and eventually as Nortel). He married my mom, Monique Guerard O'Connor, in 1956, and they had four children.

He was part of an RCAF veterans group in Quebec, and these are people with whom he curled. They played against other veterans groups. Dad was a big sports fan and played and watched many sports — hockey and curling in the winter, golf and baseball in the summer, football in the fall. He died in 1990.

Submitted by Brian O'Connor of New York City, son of John Stephen O'Connor.

Do you have a black-and-white or colour photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location, details about people appearing in the photograph, and further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be adjusted for presentation in the magazine.

OUR PAST SHAPES OUR FUTURE • NOTRE PASSÉ TRANSFORME NOTRE FUTUR •

CANADA'S HISTORY SOCIETY

The importance of understanding Canada by examining the histories of its peoples has been an anchoring belief of Canada's History Society. Established in 1994 through the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation, we bring relevance and awareness to our nation's diverse past, illuminating the people, places, and events that unite us as Canadians.

The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

SOCIÉTÉ HISTOIRE CANADA

L'importance de comprendre notre propre identité par le truchement de l'histoire est au cœur de la philosophie de la Société Histoire Canada. Le travail de la Société, fondée en 1994 grâce au généreux soutien de la Fondation d'histoire de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, consiste à faire connaître le passé diversifié de notre pays et à l'ancrer dans le contexte actuel, mais également à mettre en valeur les gens, les lieux et les événements qui nous unissent en tant que Canadiens.

La Société offre notamment aux Canadiens le magazine *Histoire Canada*, le magazine *Kayak : Navigue dans l'histoire du Canada*, le site HistoireCanada.ca et les Prix d'histoire du Gouverneur général.

CANADA'S HISTORY · HISTOIRE CANADA · Kayak

HBC Corporate Collection. Used with permission. *Chief Trader Archibald McDonald Departing the Fraser, 1828* by Adam Sherriff Scott, ca. 1942.

Stripe Spotting

Now you see them, now you don't.
Reversible pieces mean twice the cozy.
#HBStyle #StripeSpotting

HUDSON'S BAY

thebay.com